A Challenging Path toward Reconciliation
December 2015 – January 2016 Survey Findings

The research

- **National Survey**

  - **December 12, 2015 – January 8, 2016**

  - **2,000 respondents**

    - **500 Baghdad respondents**

    - **500 South respondents**

    - **500 West/IDP* respondents**

    - **500 Kurdistan respondents**

  - **Additional 200 Tribal, Religious, and Community Leaders**

  - **Margin of error on national sample: +/- 2.19**

    - **+/- 4.4% in Baghdad; +/- 4.4 in South; +/- 4.4 % in West; +/- 4.4 % in Kurdistan**

* West/IDP is abbreviated to West throughout the rest of the presentation; Sunni refers to Non-Kurd Sunni

West sample design

- **79 interviews in Diyala (Baquba, al-Muqdadiya, al-Khalis, Balad Ruz)**
- **77 interviews in Kirkuk (Kirkuk Central/South and al-Hawija)**
- **344 IDPs; results weighted according to governorate population estimates**
  - **IDP original governorate and location of interviews:**

Original governorate	# of interviews	Governorates of displacement/interview	# of interviews
Anbar	86	Baghdad	50
		Erbil	12
		Sulaymaniyah	10
		Kirkuk	14
Ninewa	180	Dohuk	120
		Najaf	20
		Erbil	20
		Karbala	20
Salah ad-Din	78	Kirkuk	46
		Erbil	20
		Sulaymaniyah	12
TOTAL IDP INTERVIEWS	344		344

Leadership methodology

- **200 tribal, religious, and community leaders**

    - **70 leaders from Baghdad**

    - **40 leaders from the West**

    - **50 leaders from the South**

    - **40 leaders from Kurdistan**

- **Leadership and sect distribution**

    - **70 Tribal leaders**

        - **25 Shia, 30 Sunni, 15 Kurds**

    - **70 Religious leaders**

        - **30 Shia, 25 Sunni, 15 Kurds**

    - **60 Community and demonstration leaders**

   - **25 Shia, 25 Sunni, 10 Kurds**

Main Findings on Leaders

- **Leaders are more attune to reconciliation issues. However, as with the general population, other concerns such as security and services are more predominant for leaders.**

- **Leaders are more open than the general population to reconciliation proposals, to different groups championing the cause, and to personally engaging in efforts.**

- **Despite the stated openness of leaders to reconciliation, they still hold sectarian views consistent with the general public.**

- **Leaders from various sects are more open toward Abadi and his reforms—and although more optimistic than the general public, they are still highly critical of the country's direction and divisiveness.**
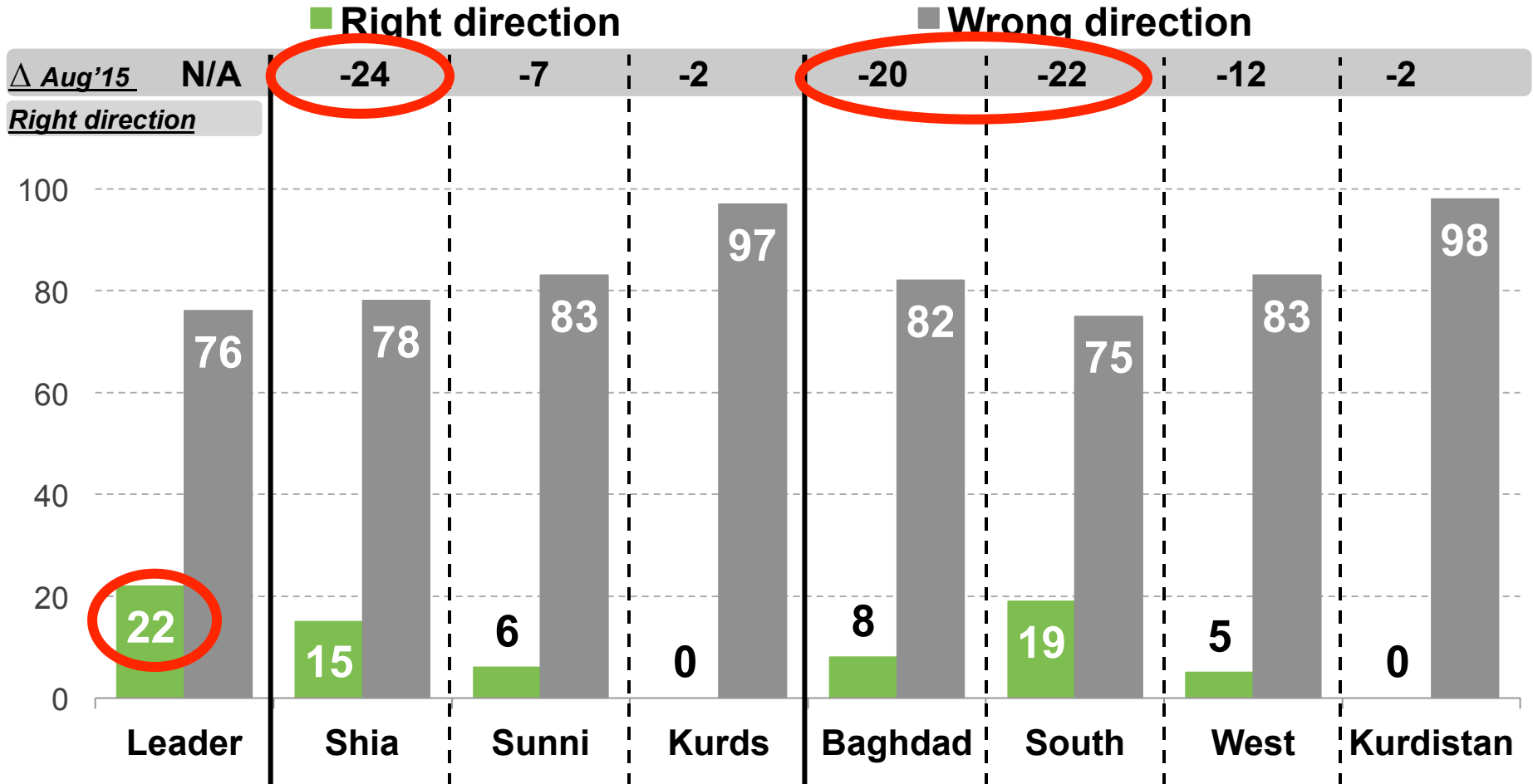
The Deteriorating Landscape

Country direction at new low point signaling patience is over

Generally speaking, do you think that things in Iraq are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

●— Right direction ■— Wrong direction
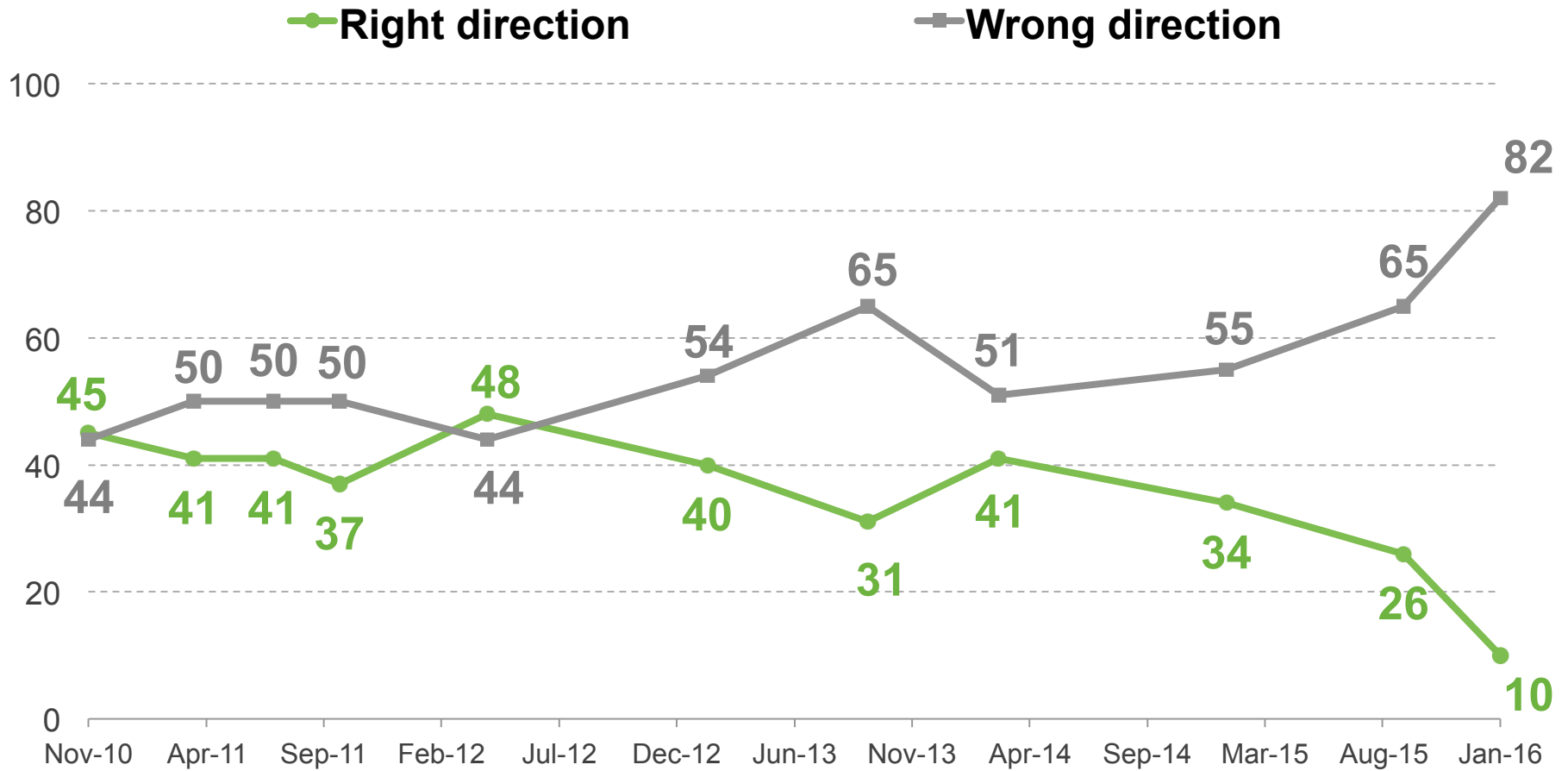
Increase in pessimism, especially among Shia

Generally speaking, do you think that things in Iraq are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

■ **Right direction**   ■ **Wrong direction**

△ *Aug'15*	N/A	-24	-7	-2	-20	-22	-12	-2
Right direction								

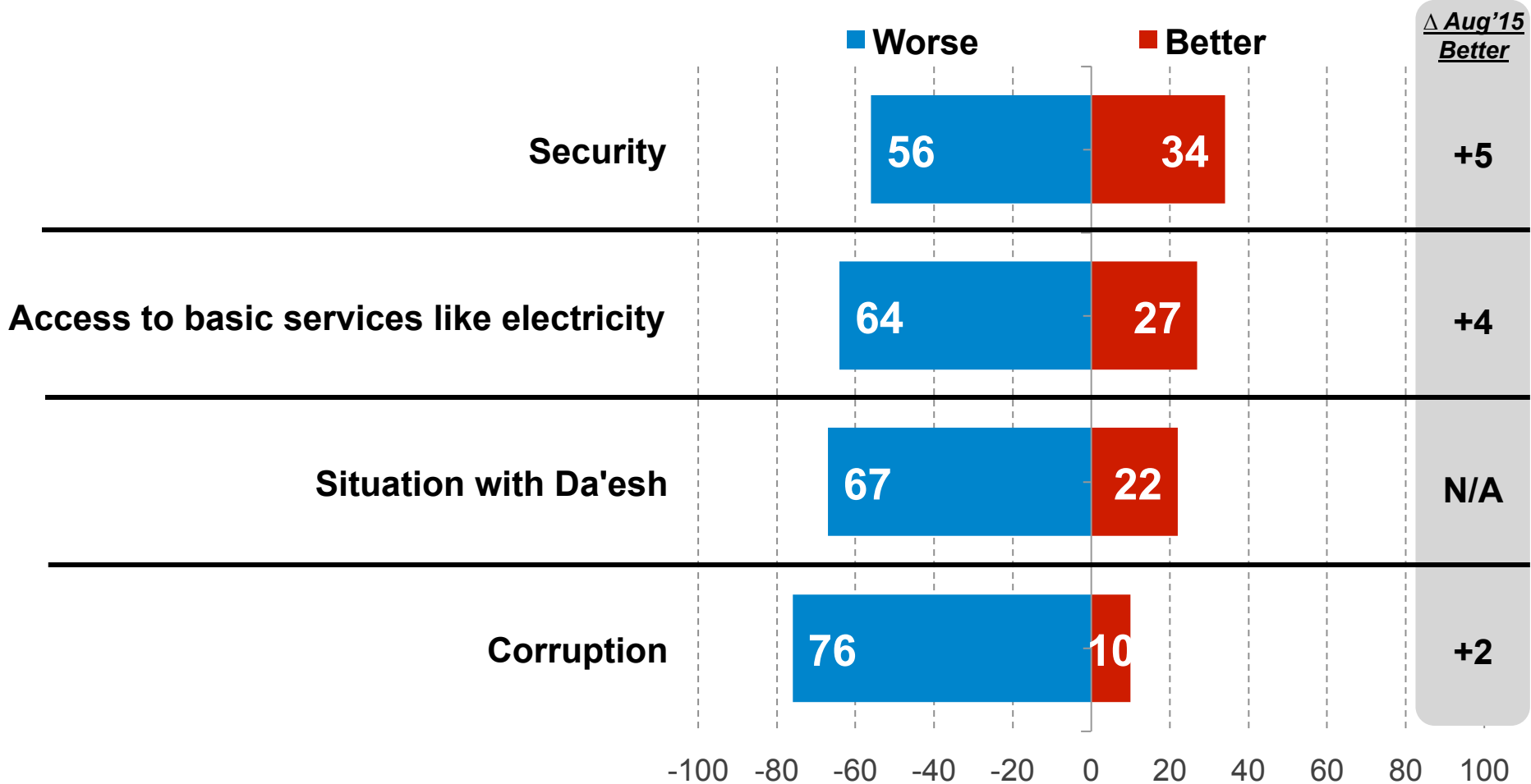|	Leader	Shia	Sunni	Kurds	Baghdad	South	West	Kurdistan
Right direction	22	15	6	0	8	19	5	0
Wrong direction	76	78	83	97	82	75	83	98

Kurdistan direction also at new low

Generally speaking, do you think that things in Kurdistan are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

- ●— Right direction
- ■— Wrong direction
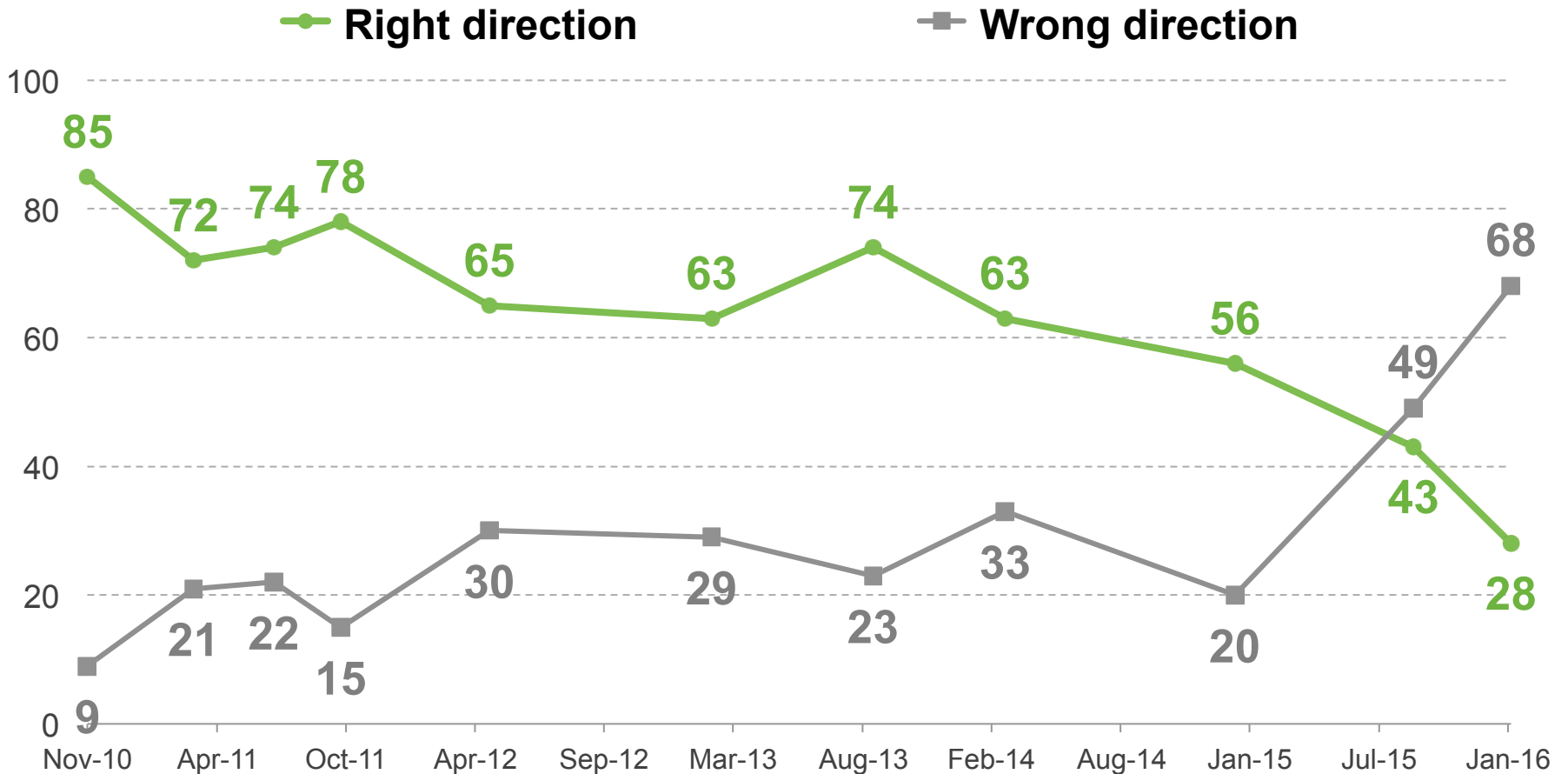
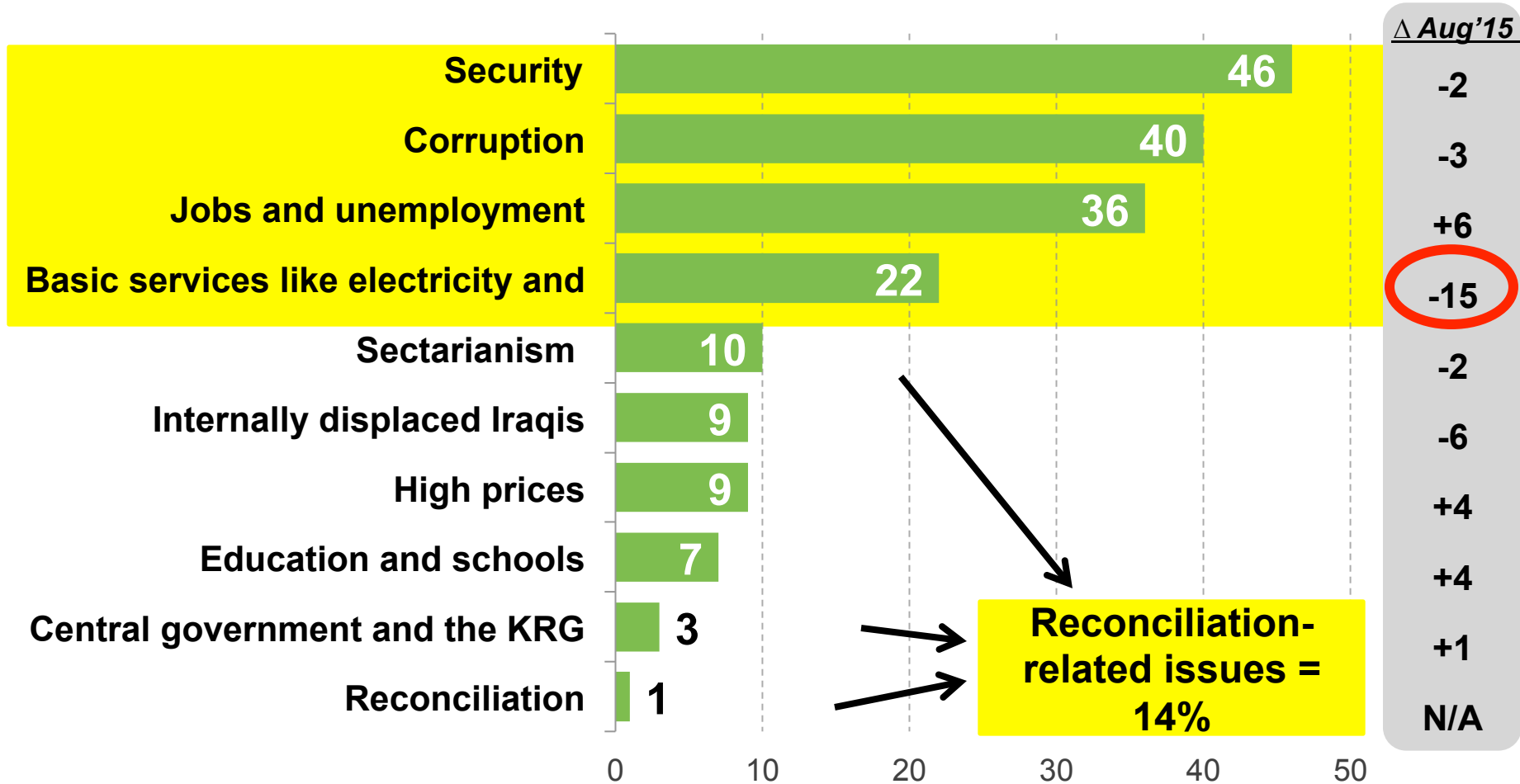# Overwhelming perception of worsening situation on key issues

Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.

	Worse	Better	Δ Aug'15 Better
Security	56	34	+5
Access to basic services like electricity	64	27	+4
Situation with Da'esh	67	22	N/A
Corruption	76	10	+2

-100 -80 -60 -40 -20 0 20 40 60 80 100

Reconciliation concerns low, need to be linked to top concerns

Which TWO of these are the most important for the Iraqi government to address?

	Value	Δ Aug'15
Security	46	-2
Corruption	40	-3
Jobs and unemployment	36	+6
Basic services like electricity and	22	-15
Sectarianism	10	-2
Internally displaced Iraqis	9	-6
High prices	9	+4
Education and schools	7	+4
Central government and the KRG	3	+1
Reconciliation	1	N/A

Reconciliation-related issues = 14%
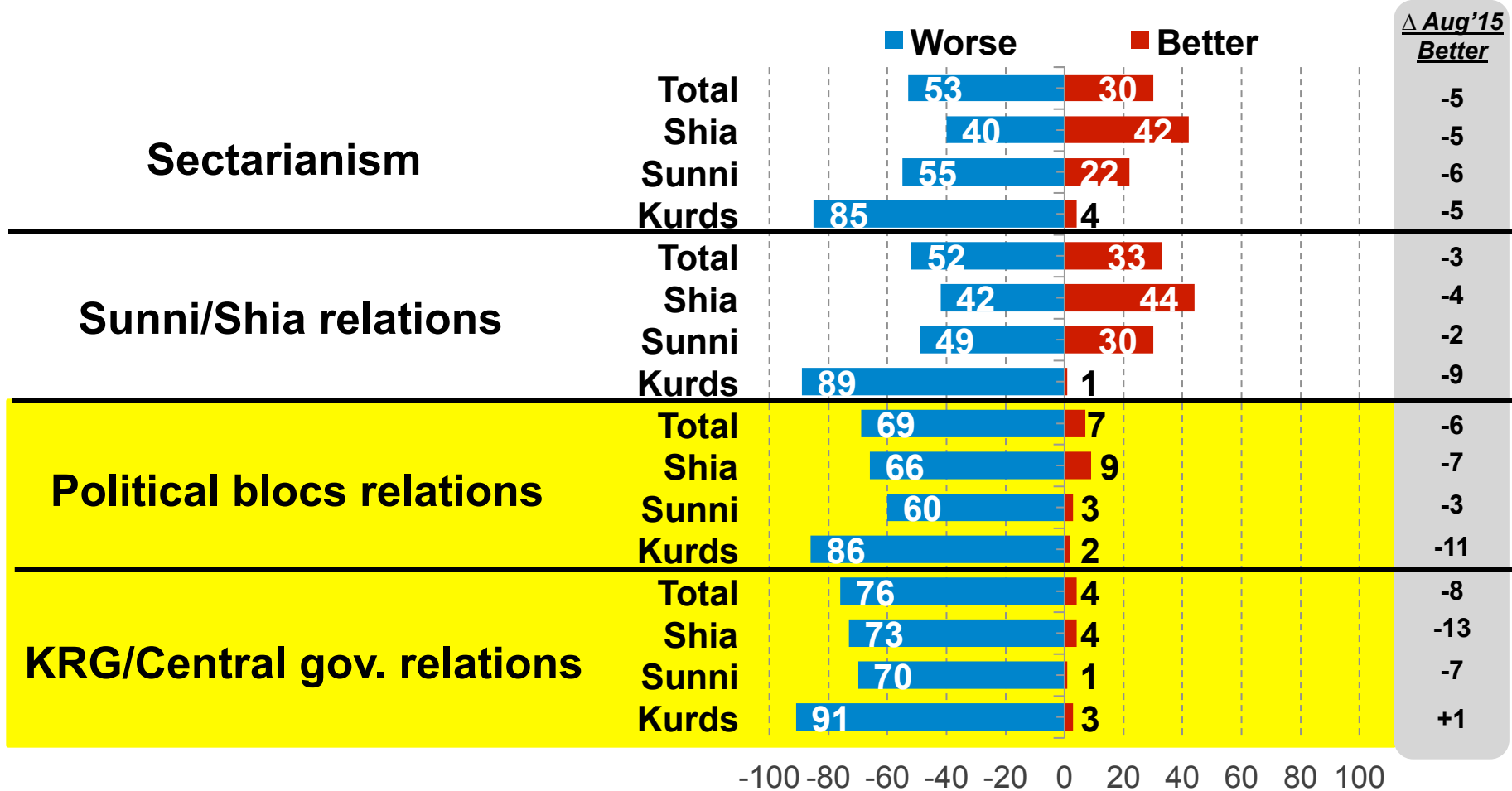
0   10   20   30   40   50

Undercurrents of Sectarian Tensions

- **Iraqis overwhelmingly identify the political class as the priority for reconciliation, but clear social tensions pose a largely unacknowledged challenge.**

- **Identity has a strong impact on opinions about reconciliation.**

- **Iraqis share a strong desire for reconciliation.**

Sectarianism worsening, but political tensions even worse

Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.

		Worse	Better	Δ Aug'15 Better
Sectarianism	Total	53	30	-5
	Shia	40	42	-5
	Sunni	55	22	-6
	Kurds	85	4	-5
Sunni/Shia relations	Total	52	33	-3
	Shia	42	44	-4
	Sunni	49	30	-2
	Kurds	89	1	-9
Political blocs relations	Total	69	7	-6
	Shia	66	9	-7
	Sunni	60	3	-3
	Kurds	86	2	-11
KRG/Central gov. relations	Total	76	4	-8
	Shia	73	4	-13
	Sunni	70	1	-7
	Kurds	91	3	+1

-100 -80 -60 -40 -20 0 20 40 60 80 100

Majorities: political reconciliation more important than societal

What do you think is more important: political reconciliation among the various political parties and leaders, or societal reconciliation among the various ethnicities and religious sects?

Political reconciliation most important | **Societal reconciliation** most important

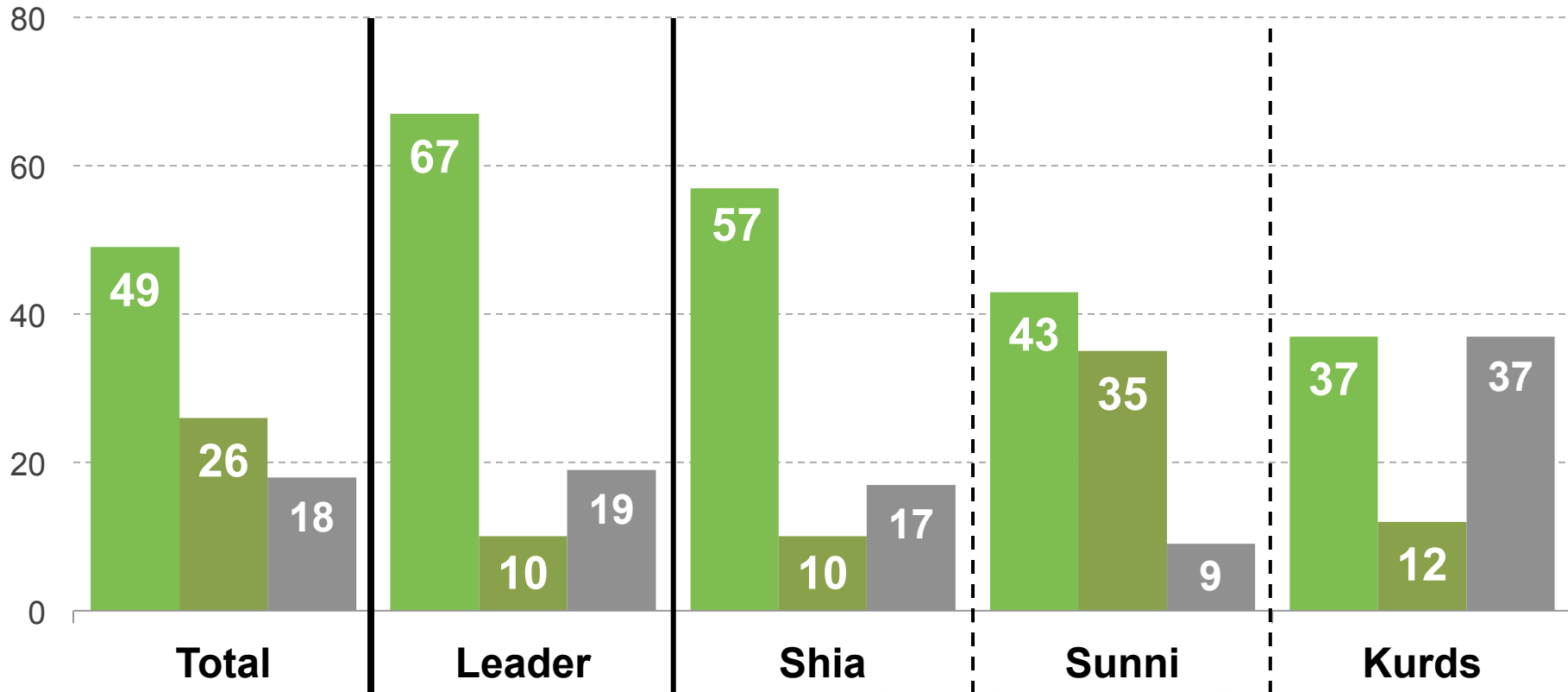|	Total	Leader	Shia	Sunni	Kurds
Political reconciliation	71	65	78	63	63
Societal reconciliation	22	31	17	26	34
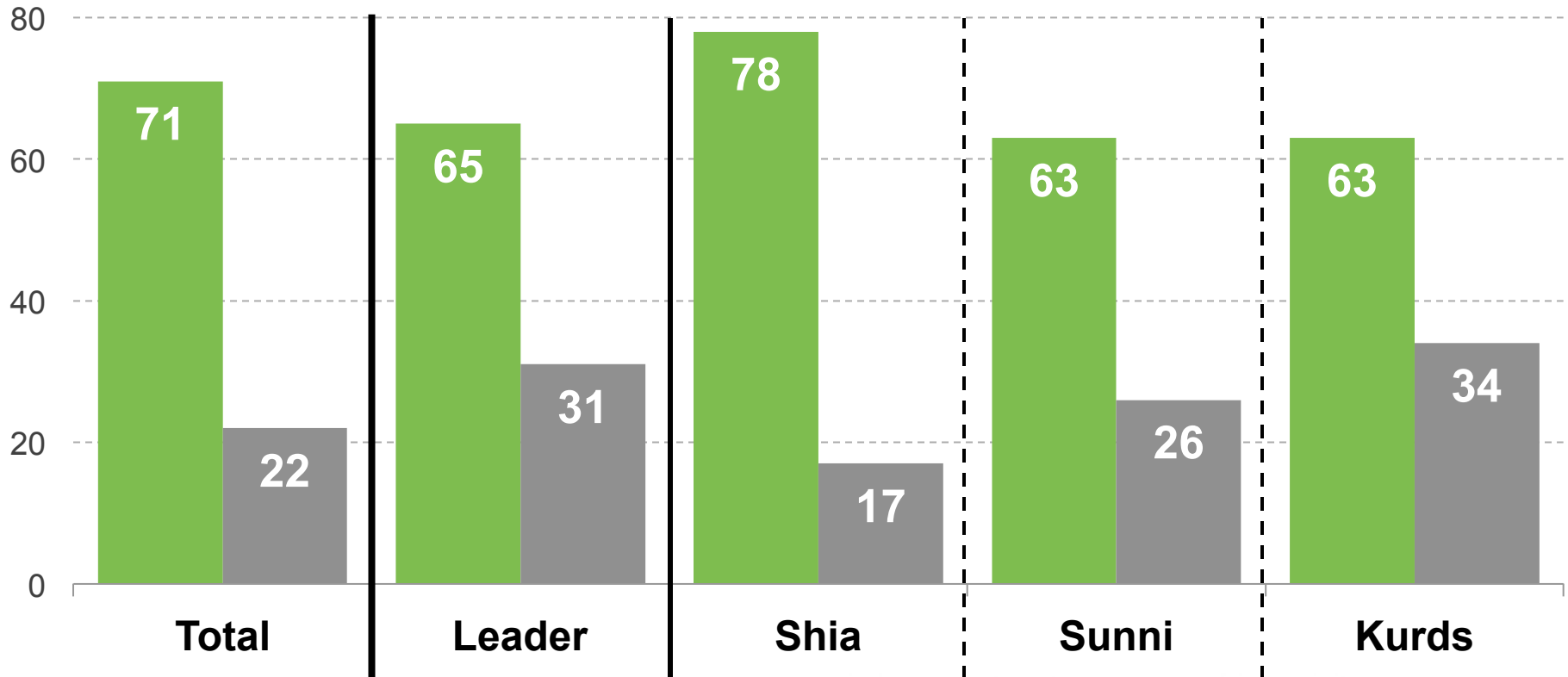
Politicians bigger obstacle to progress than Da'esh/oil prices

The central obstacle to achieving progress in Iraq is the **failure of political parties** to agree on a common vision for Iraq.
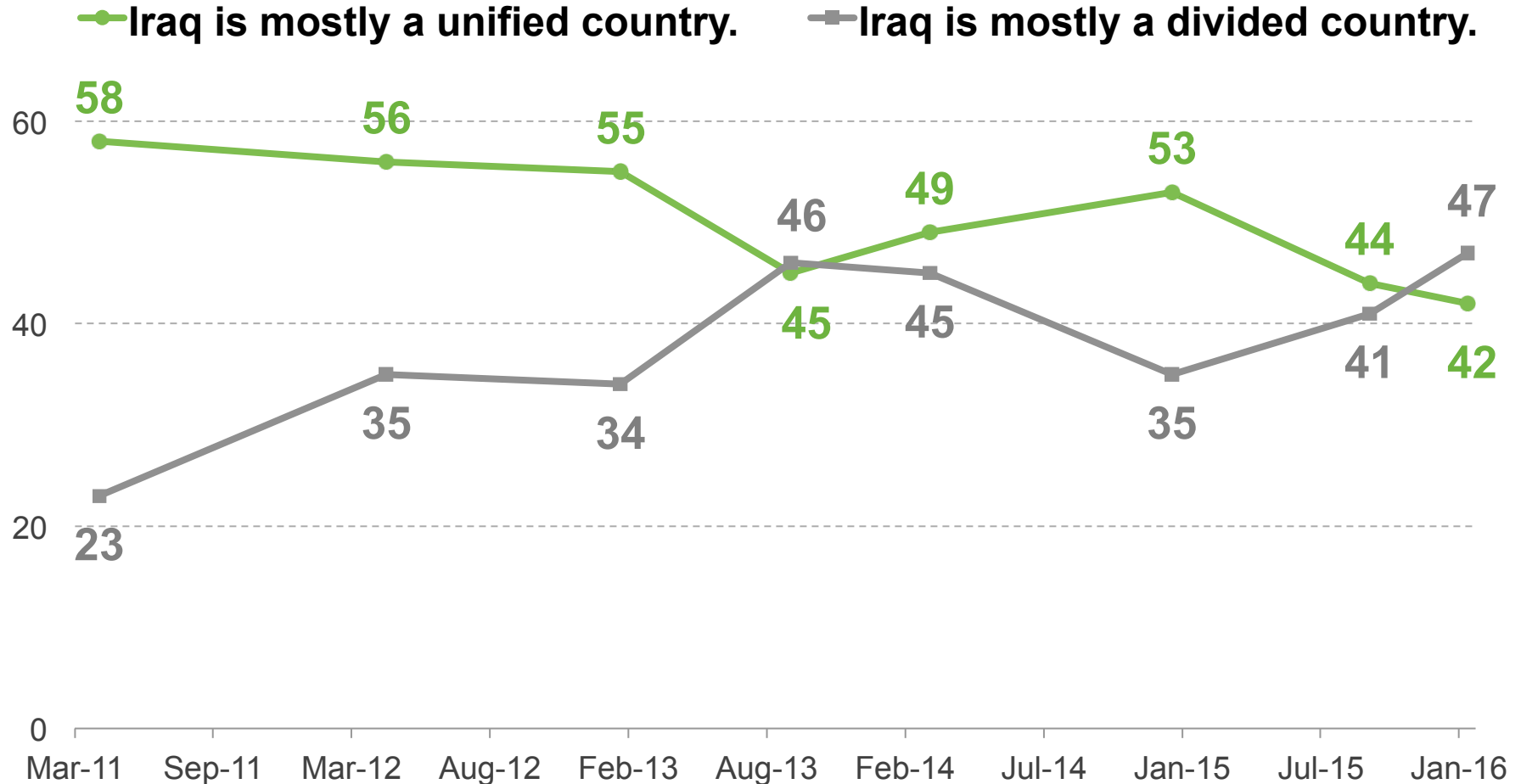
Both

The central obstacle to achieving progress in Iraq is the **low price of oil and the fight against Da'esh**.

	Total	Leader	Shia	Sunni	Kurds
Failure of political parties	49	67	57	43	37
Both	26	10	10	35	12
Low price of oil/Da'esh	18	19	17	9	37

More now say country is divided

Which statement comes closer to your view?

—●—**Iraq is mostly a unified country.** —■—**Iraq is mostly a divided country.**

Diverging perceptions: only Shia view country as unified

Iraq is mostly a unified country.
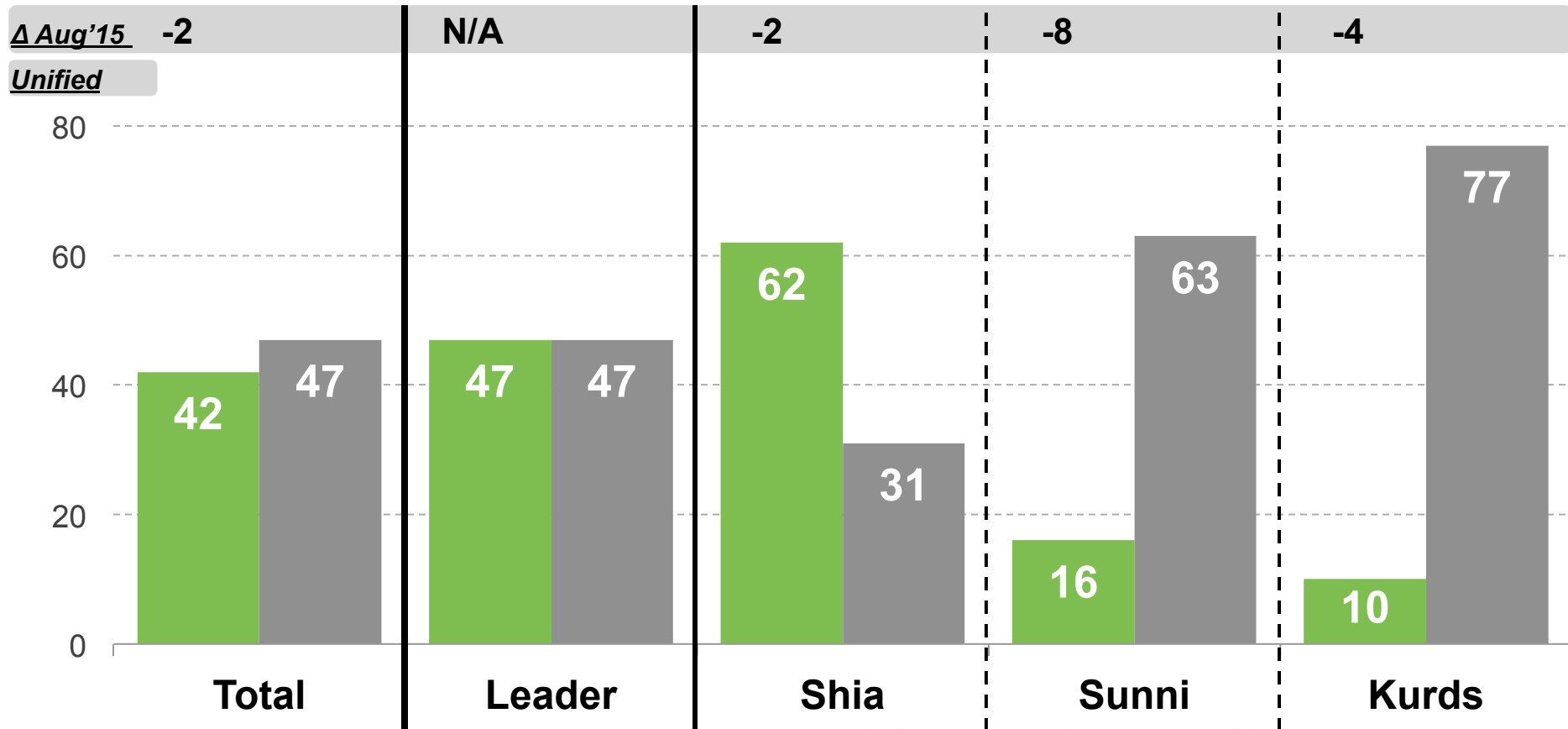
Iraq is mostly a divided country.

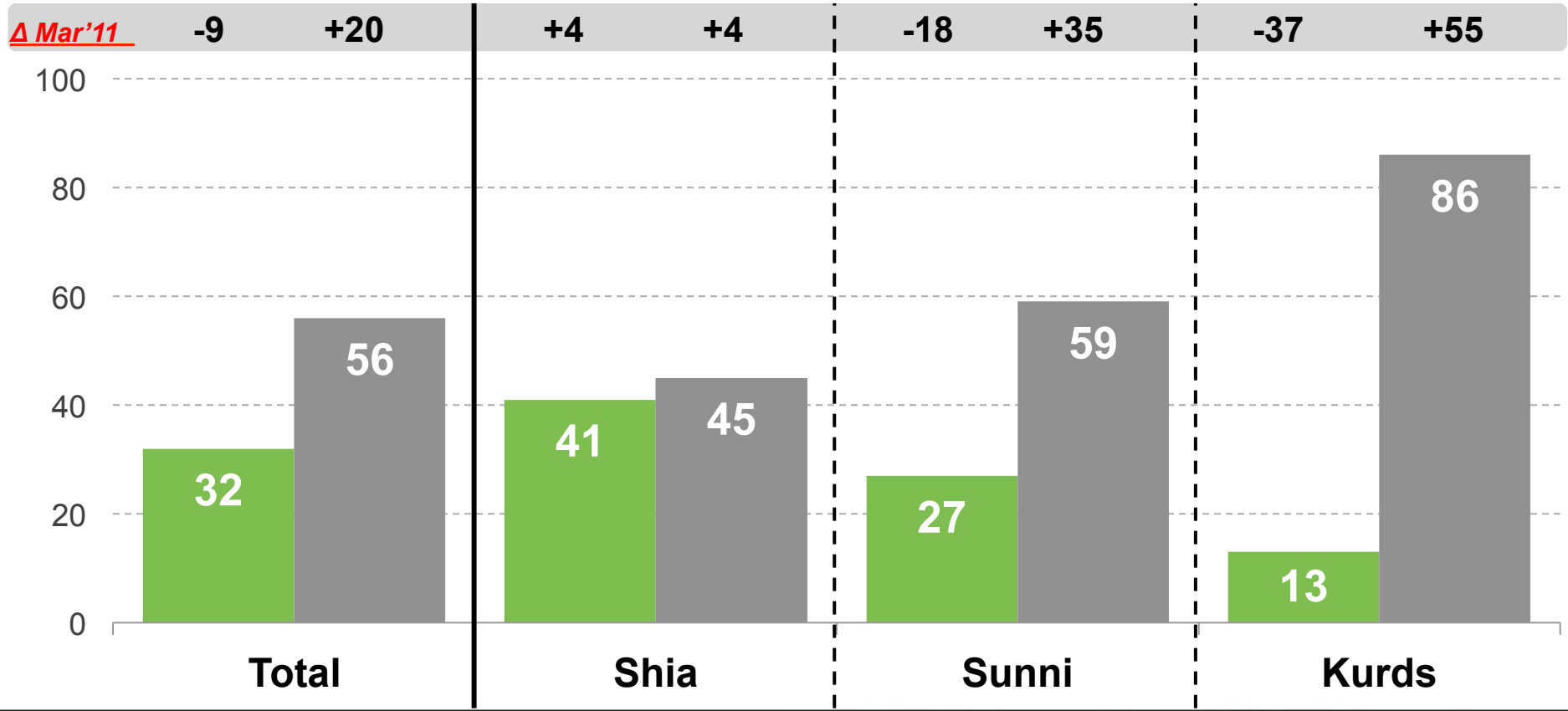| Δ Aug'15	-2	N/A	-2	-8	-4
Unified					

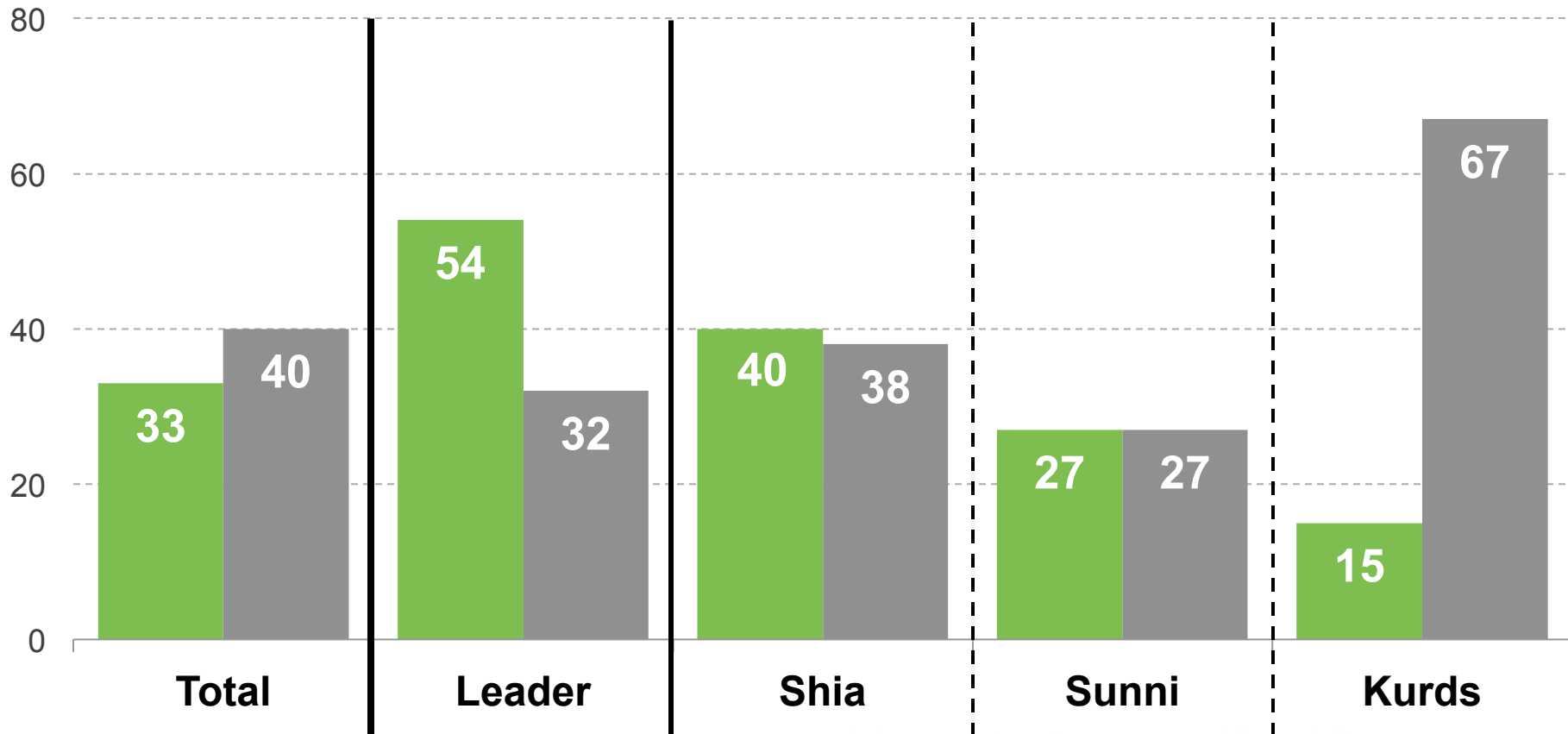|	Total	Leader	Shia	Sunni	Kurds
Unified	42	47	62	16	10
Divided	47	47	31	63	77

Differences about voting for leaders of other sects

I am willing to vote for a party that represents a sect different than my own.

I am not willing to vote for a party that represents a sect different than my own.

	Total	Leader	Shia	Sunni	Kurds
Willing	33	54	40	27	15
Not willing	40	32	38	27	67

Only Shia say they are treated fairly by society and government

Do you think people in your sect are treated fairly or unfairly within [Iraq's society/by Iraq's government]?

■ **Fairly** ■ **Unfairly**

Δ Oct'11	-5	+5	+9	-9	-1	-5	-43	+48

	Fairly	Unfairly
Total	48	46
Shia	70	24
Sunni	29	63
Kurds	6	86
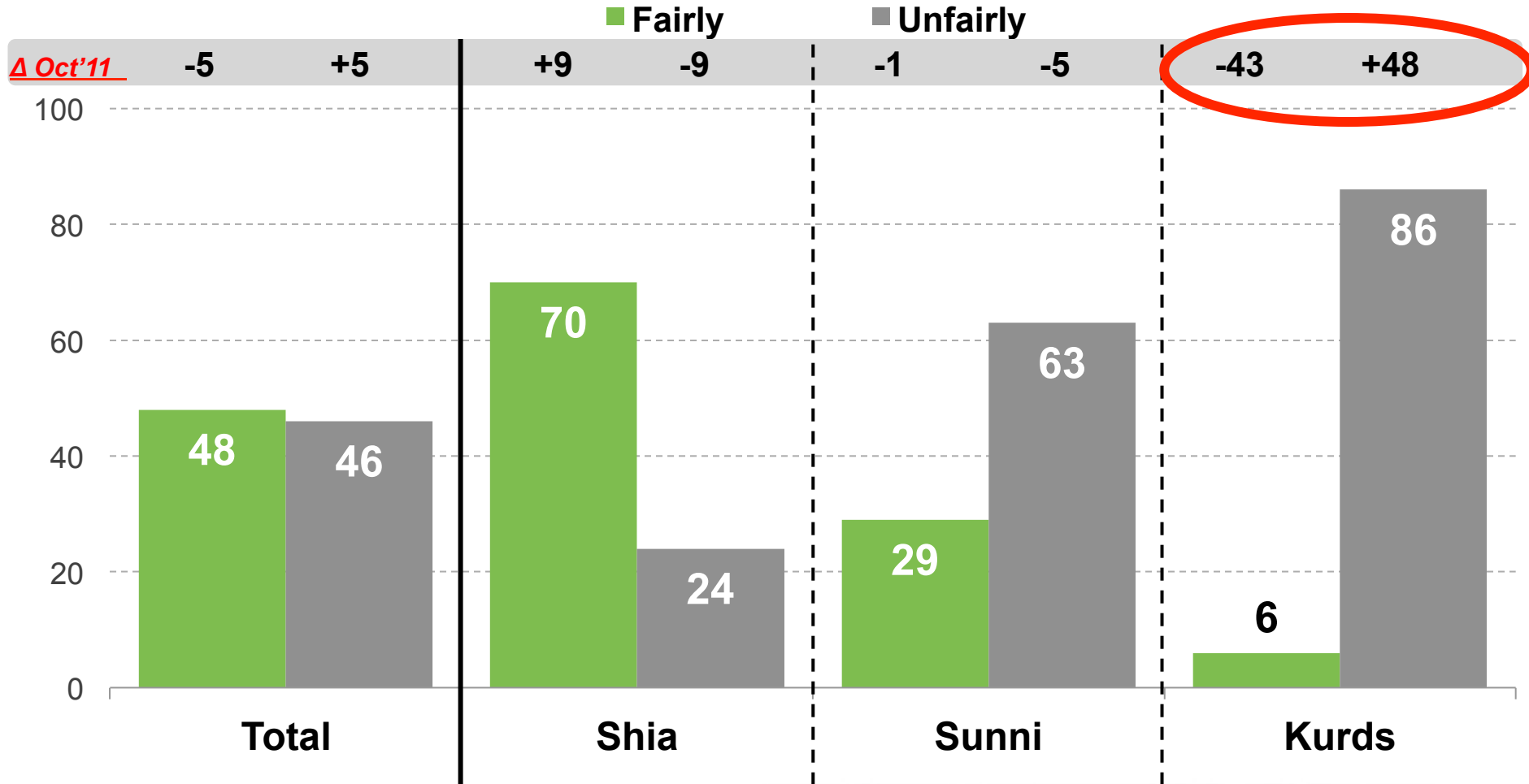
Sunnis more likely than others to have felt discrimination

Have you ever been personally discriminated against because of your religion or ethnicity?

■ Yes ■ No

	Total	Leader	Shia	Sunni	Kurds
Yes	18	38	8	39	9
No	78	60	91	51	88
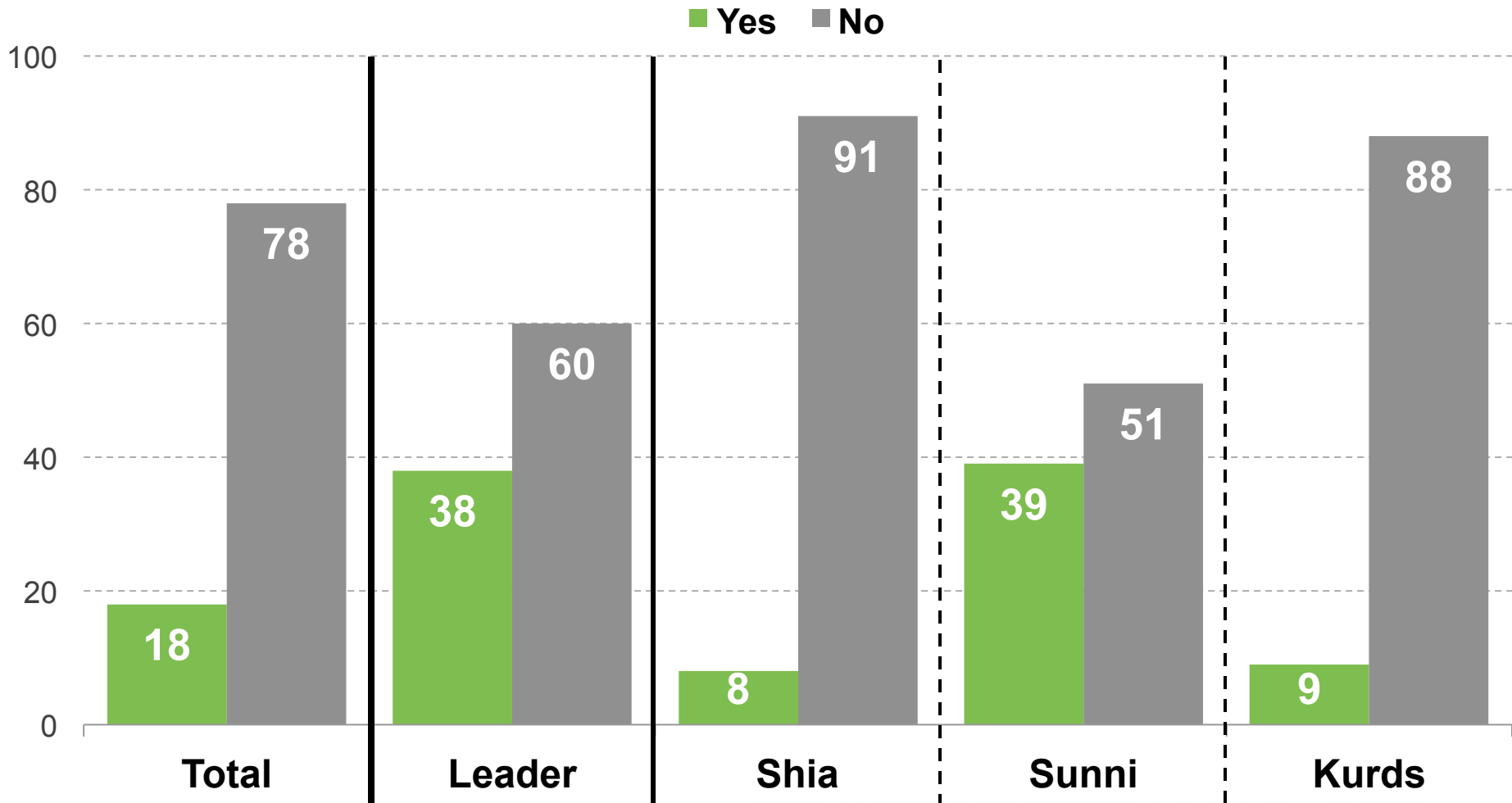
Kurds most resistant to intermarriage

Do you think there should be intermarriage between [Sunni and Shia/Kurds and Arabs]?
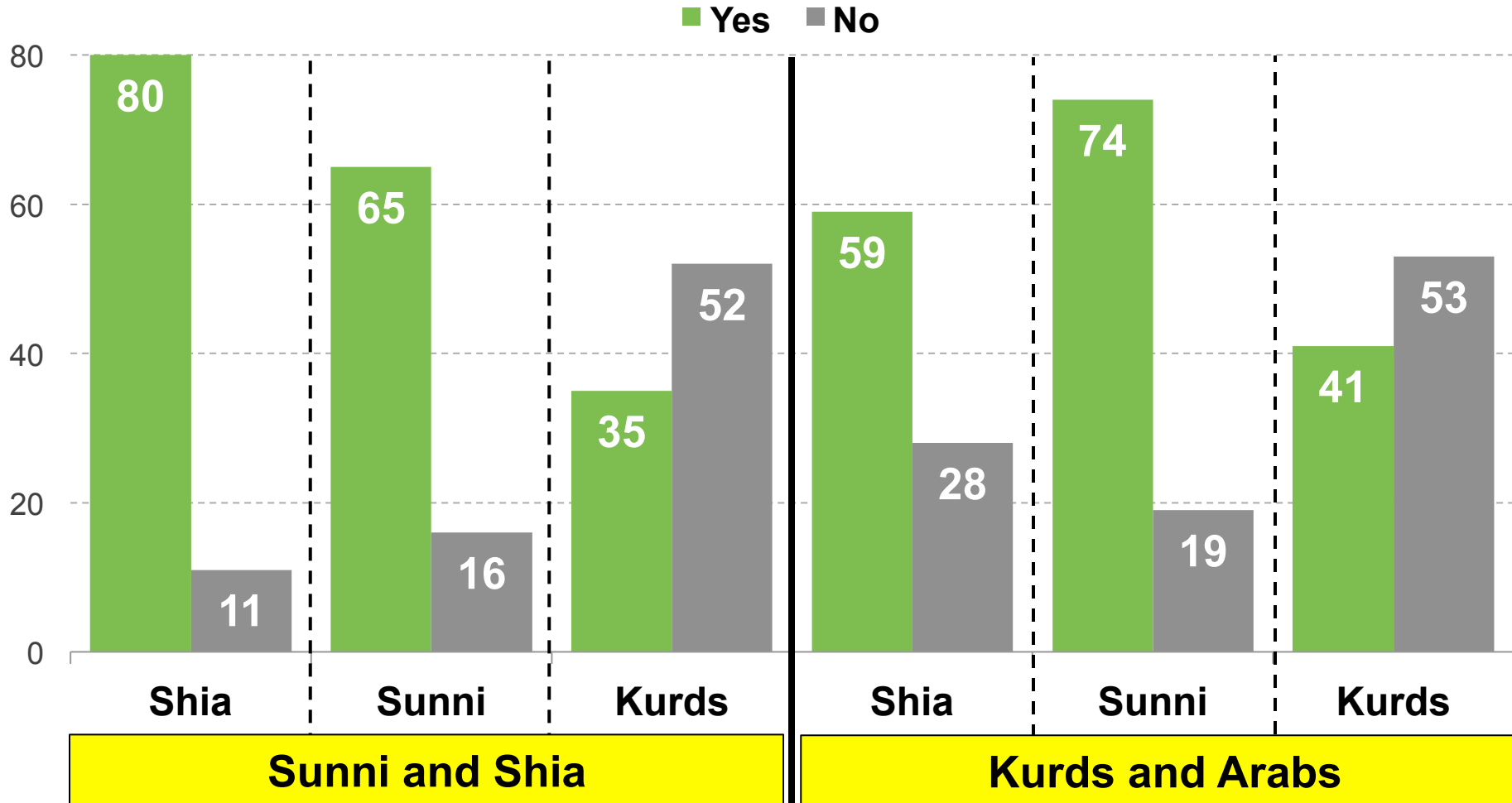
■ Yes   ■ No

	Sunni and Shia			Kurds and Arabs		
	Shia	Sunni	Kurds	Shia	Sunni	Kurds
Yes	80	65	35	59	74	41
No	11	16	52	28	19	53

Religion significant to identity; Kurds don't identify as Iraqi

Imagine someone you trusted asks you about your background. From the following list, what would be the first way you would identify yourself? And then what would be the second way you would identify yourself?
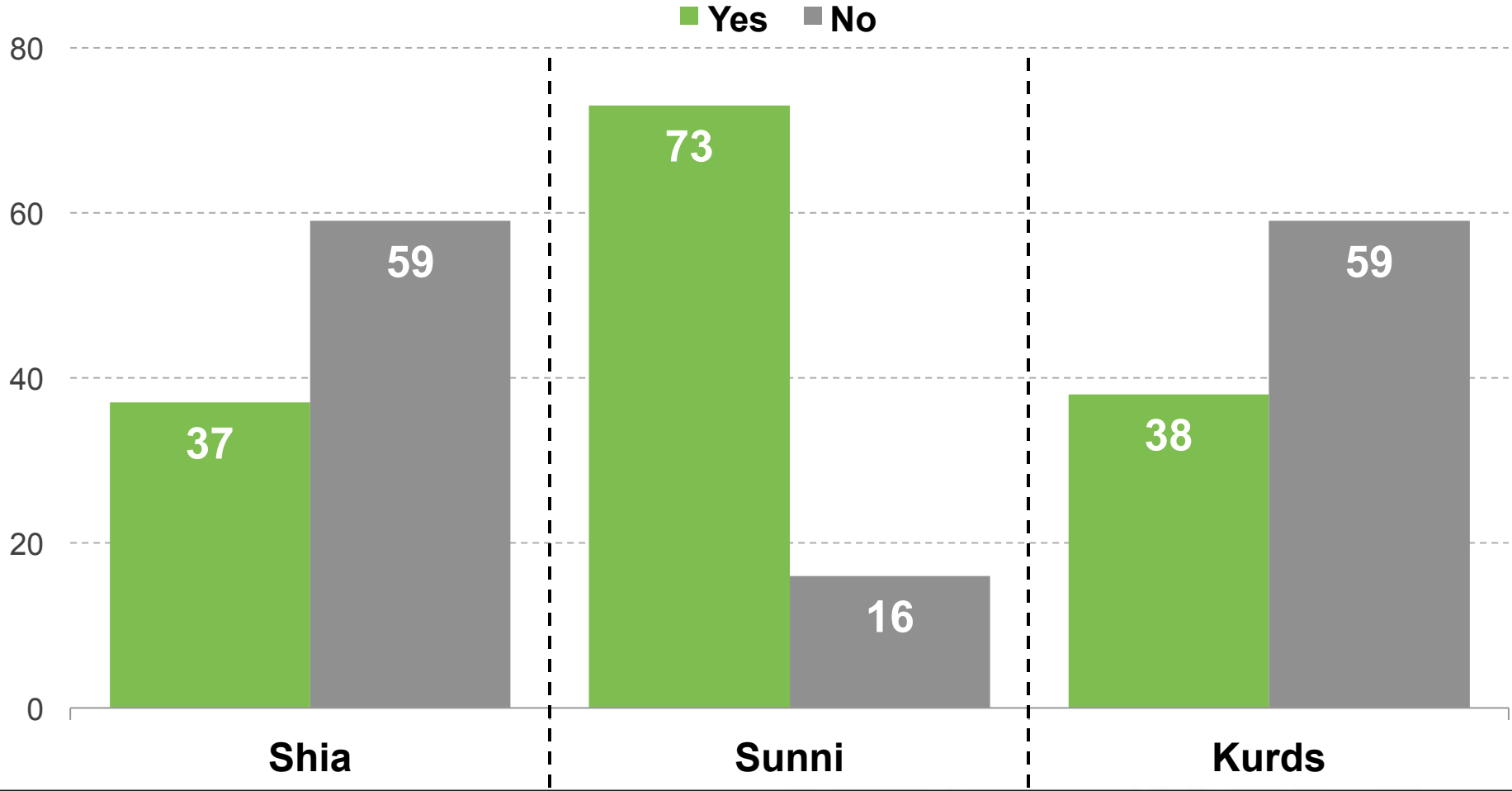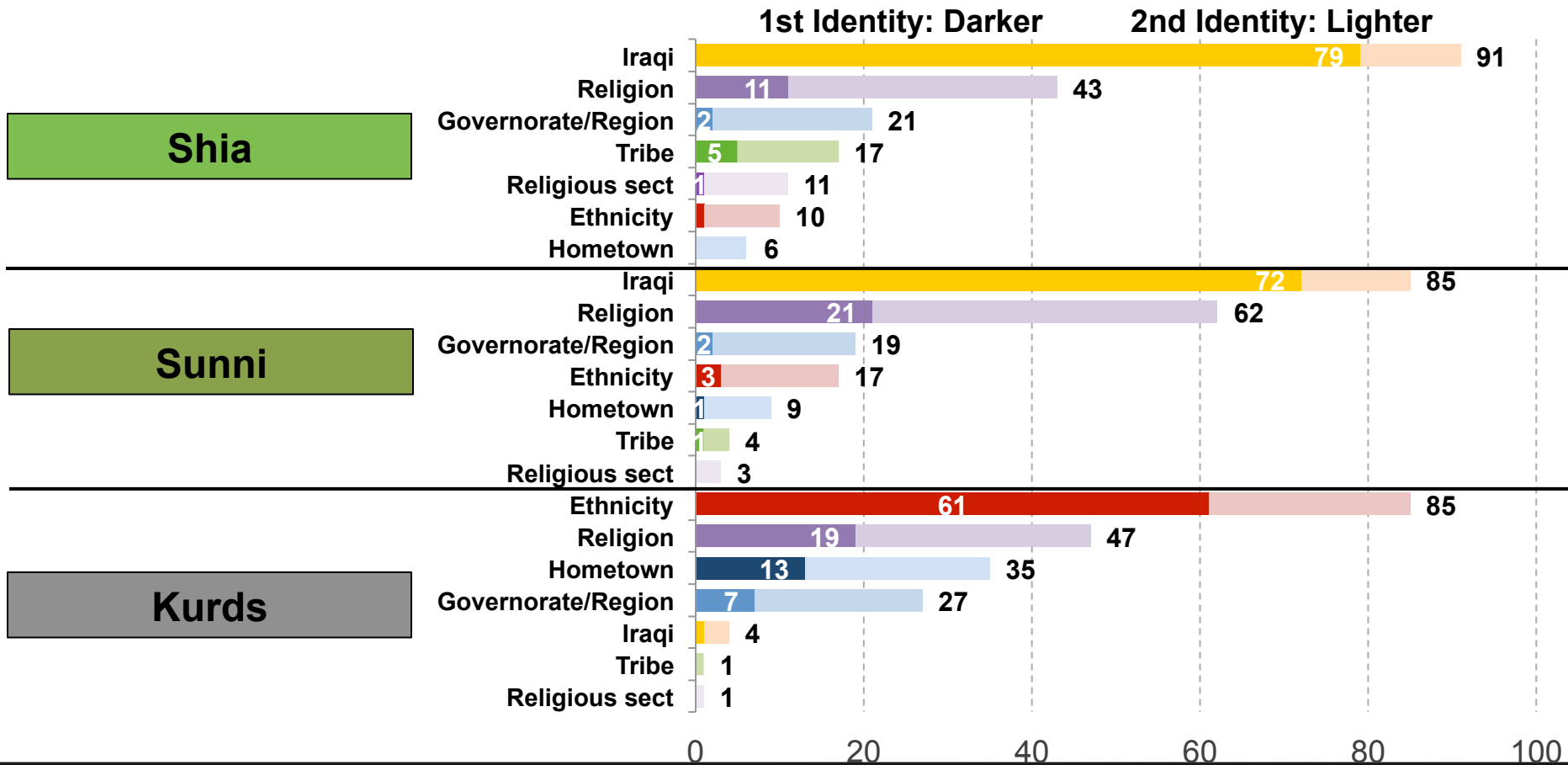
1st Identity: Darker   **2nd Identity: Lighter**

Shia

	1st	2nd
Iraqi	79	91
Religion	11	43
Governorate/Region	2	21
Tribe	5	17
Religious sect	1	11
Ethnicity		10
Hometown		6

Sunni

	1st	2nd
Iraqi	72	85
Religion	21	62
Governorate/Region	2	19
Ethnicity	3	17
Hometown	1	9
Tribe		4
Religious sect		3

Kurds

	1st	2nd
Ethnicity	61	85
Religion	19	47
Hometown	13	35
Governorate/Region	7	27
Iraqi		4
Tribe		1
Religious sect		1

0   20   40   60   80   100
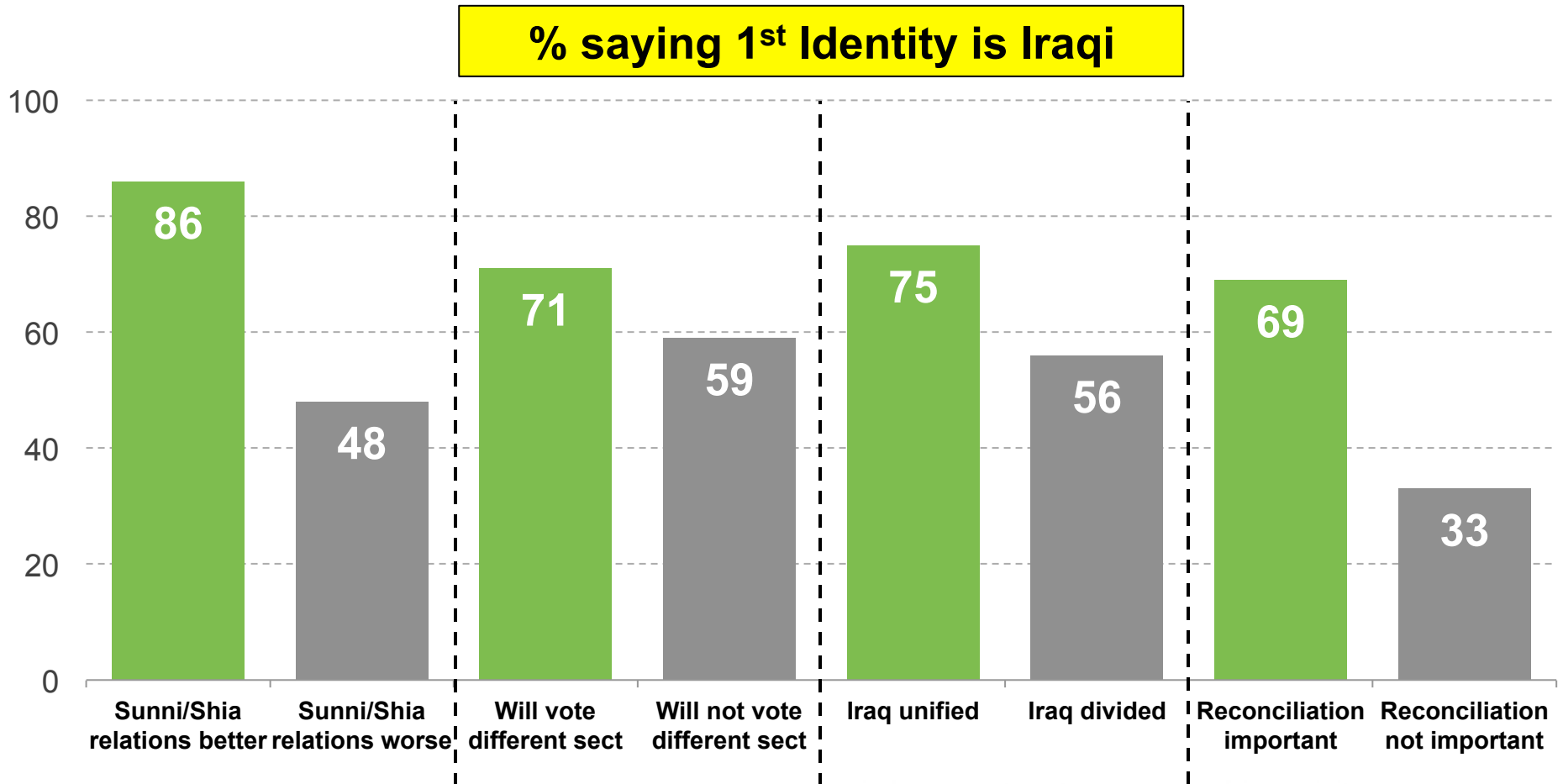
Fairness and tolerance linked to Iraqi identity

Imagine someone you trusted asks you about your background. From the following list, what would be the first way you would identify yourself?

% saying 1st Identity is Iraqi

82	47	80	50	75	37	73	53
Treated fairly in society	Treated unfairly in society	Treated fairly in government	Treated unfairly in government	Sunni/Shia marriage: Yes	Sunni/Shia marriage: No	Arab/Kurd marriage: Yes	Arab/Kurd marriage: No
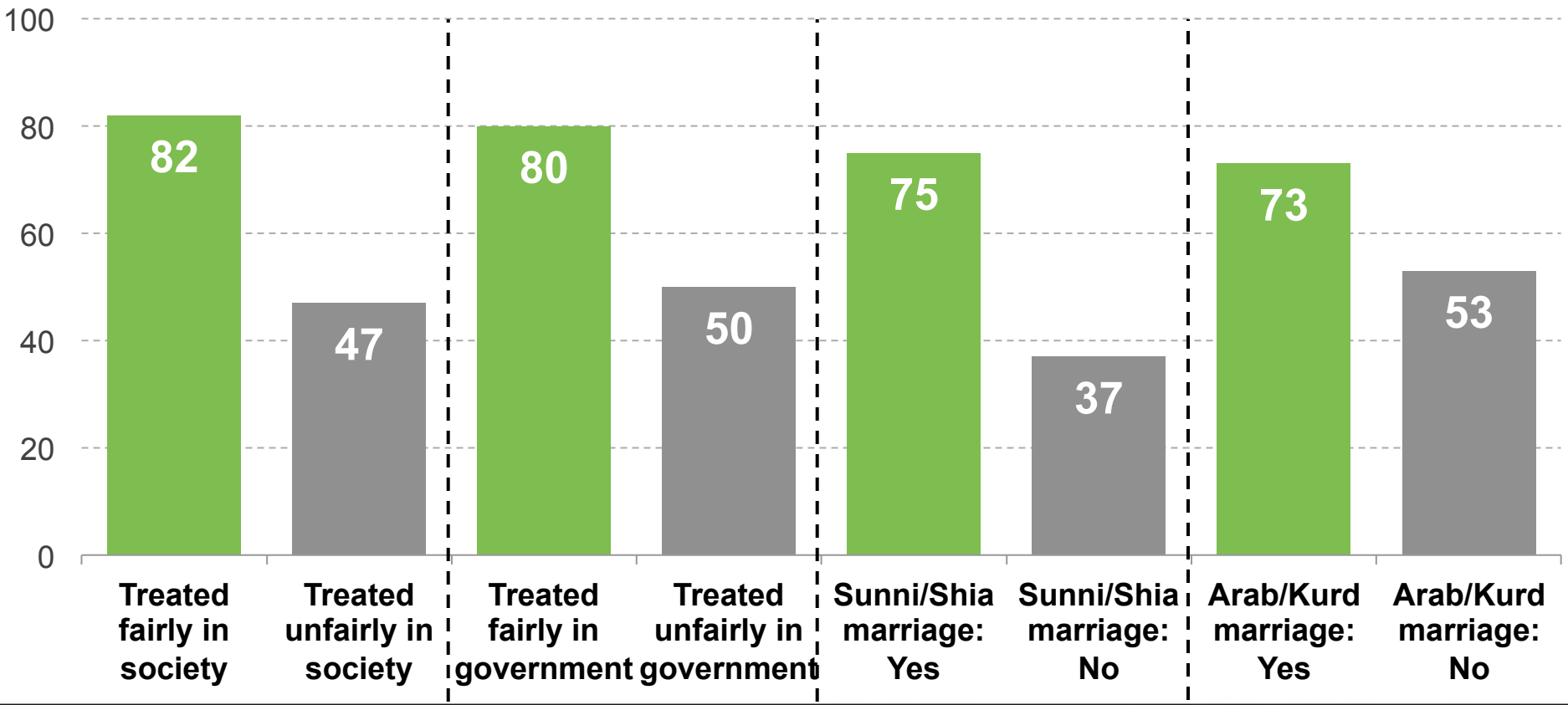
Strong majorities say reconciliation is important

How important is reconciliation between the various sects in Iraq to the future of the country--very important, somewhat important, just a little important, or not important at all?

■ Very   ■ Somewhat   ■ Just a little/Not at all

	Very	Somewhat	Just a little/Not at all
Total	69	24	6
Leader	84	14	2
Shia	70	27	3
Sunni	81	12	5
Kurds	56	29	13

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH
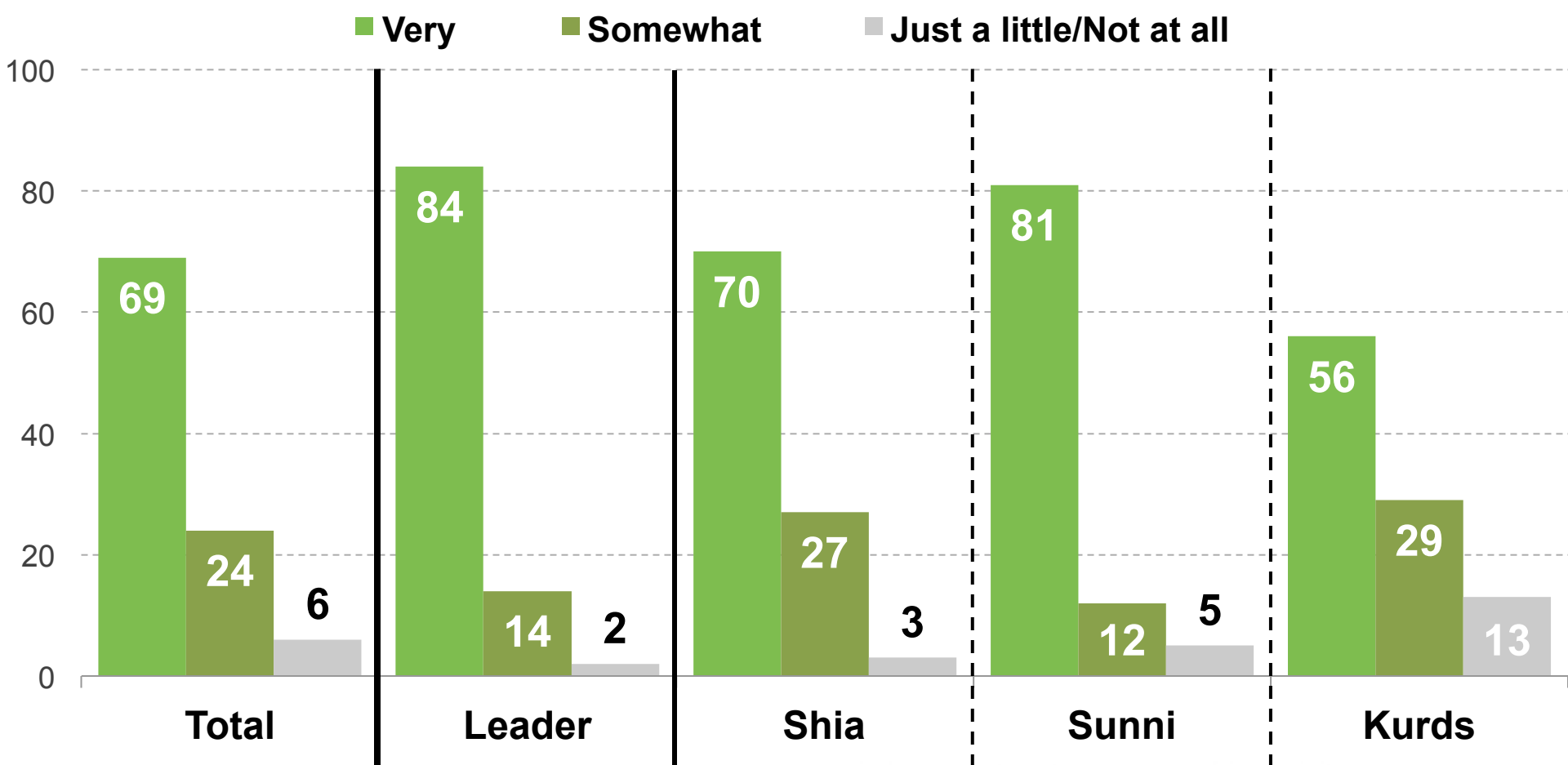
Majority of Shia & Sunni see reconciliation as a high priority

Which do you believe should be the higher priority: reconciliation or the fight against Da'esh?

Reconciliation | **Both equally** | **Fight against Da'esh**

Reconciliation + "Both"

	Total	Shia	Sunni	Kurds
Reconciliation + "Both"	52	55	56	38
Reconciliation	19	22	18	12
Both equally	33	33	38	26
Fight against Da'esh	48	44	44	62
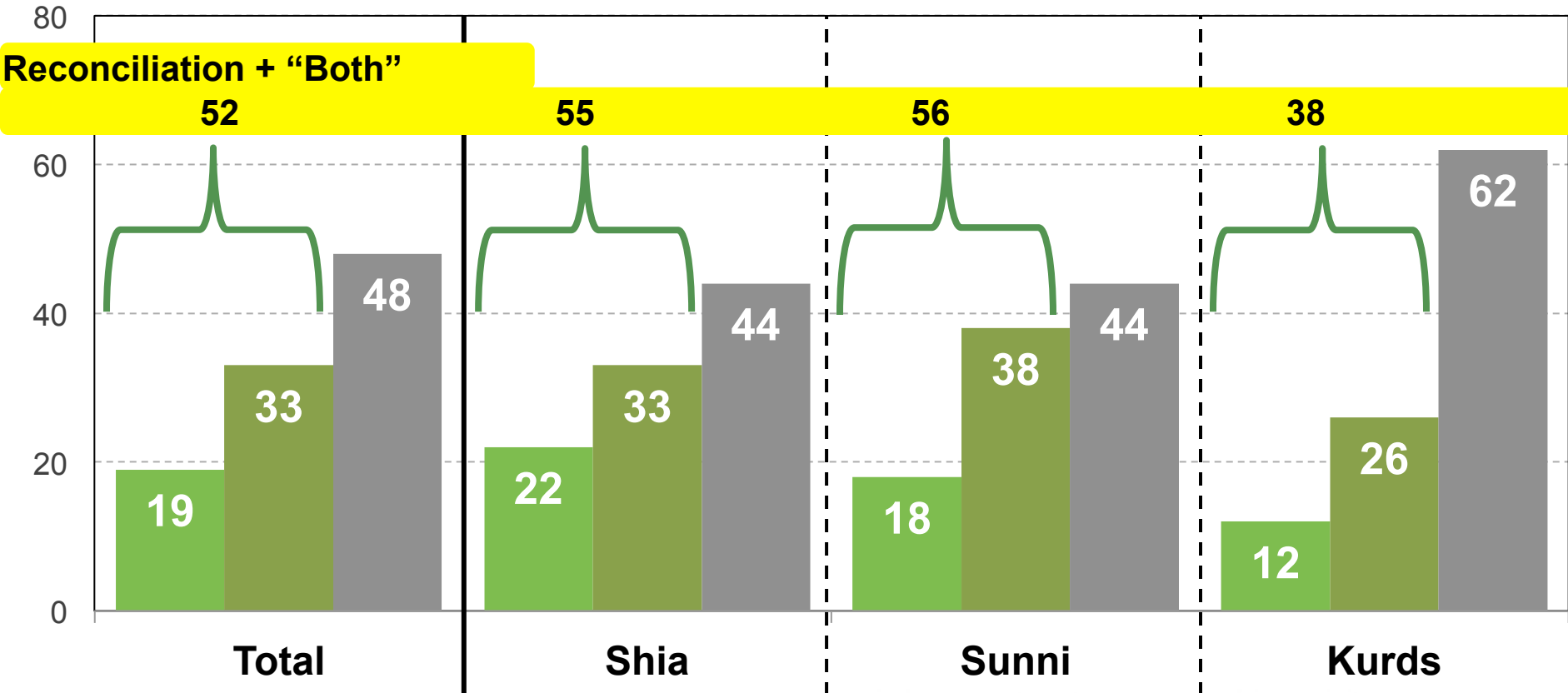
Path to Reconciliation

- **Link outcomes of reconciliation to issue concerns**

- **Understand obstacles**

- **Separate angles for Sunni-Shia and Arab-Kurd reconciliation**

- **Pressure points and voices for reconciliation**

Link reconciliation to top concerns

Which TWO of these are the most important for the Iraqi government to address?

■ Security ■ Jobs and unemployment ■ Corruption ■ Basic services like electricity and water

GQRR.COM
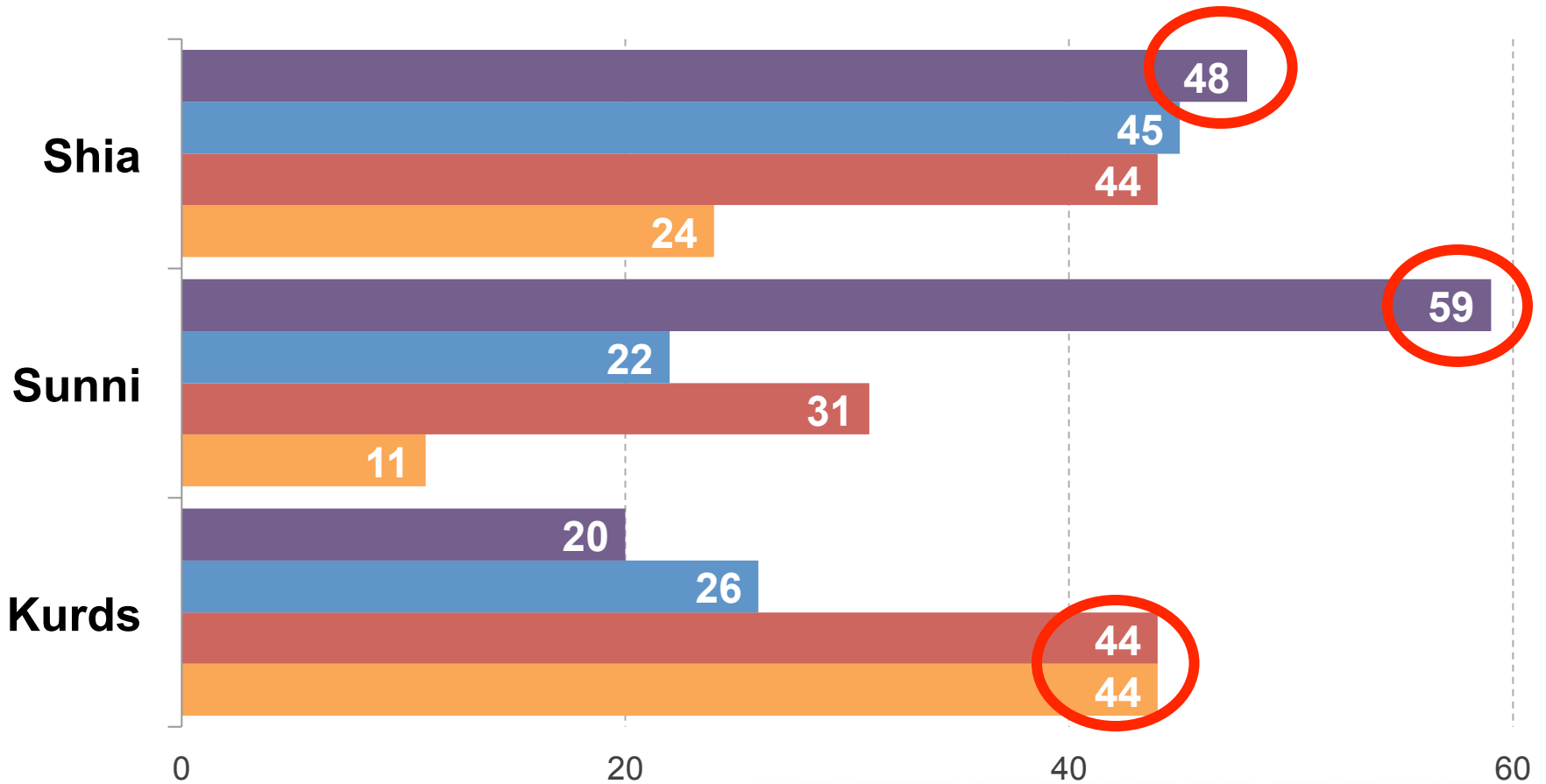
Central government most responsible for reconciliation

The central government has the primary responsibility to bring reconciliation in Iraq.

The religious leaders have the primary responsibility to bring about reconciliation in Iraq.

The tribal leaders have the primary responsibility to bring about reconciliation in Iraq.

Both	30	23	38	21	15	29	16	29	38	16

	Total	Leader	Shia	Sunni	Kurds	Total	Leader	Shia	Sunni	Kurds
Green	49	58	40	56	68	57	68	58	48	68
Gray	13	18	15	11	15	10	9	12	8	9
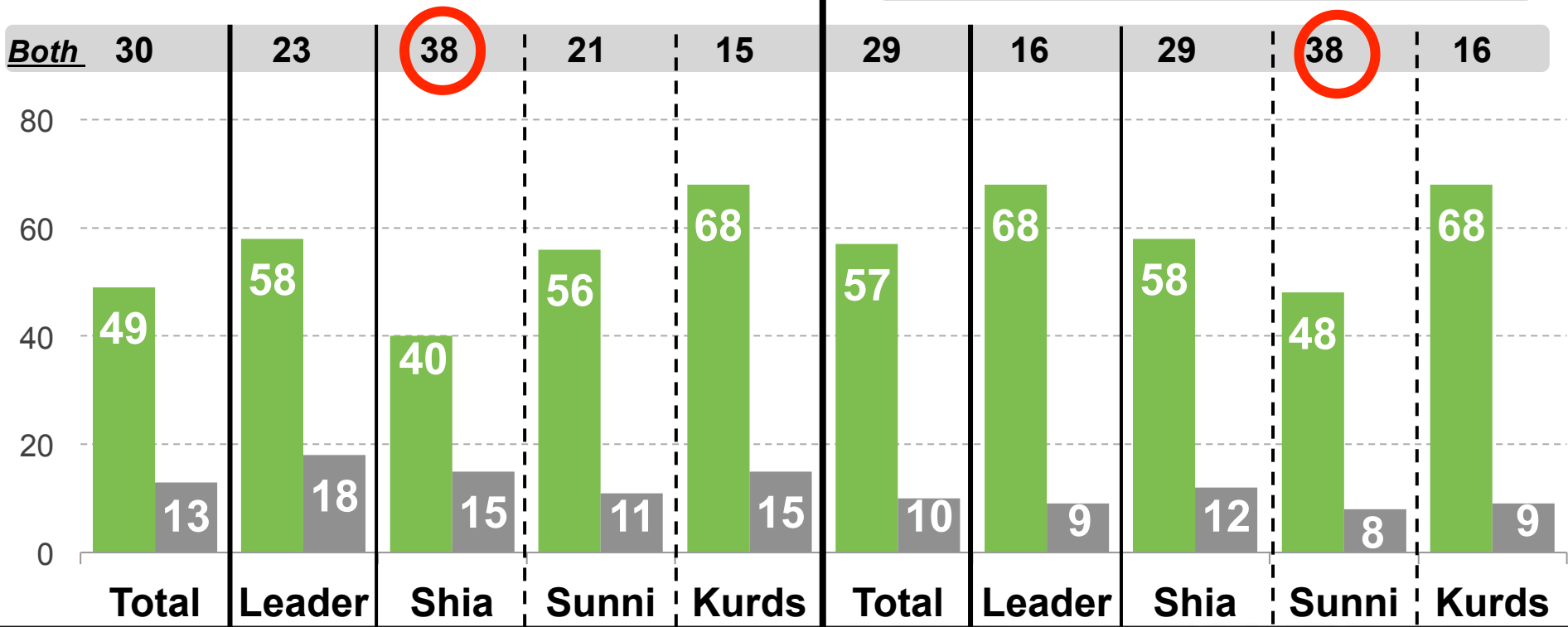
Da'esh, politicians, and other countries create divisions

Please tell me if that is extremely responsible for creating divisions and hindering reconciliation, very responsible, somewhat responsible, just a little responsible, or not at all responsible for creating divisions and hindering reconciliation.

■ **Extremely responsible**   ■ **Very responsible**

	Extremely responsible	Total
Da'esh	68	89
Politicians and political parties	65	95
Other countries' involvement in Iraq	64	94
Corruption	56	88
Distribution of positions based on sect	51	89
Failure to enforce laws	48	83
Poor provision of services	39	69
Competition over Iraqi's resources	34	72
The judicial system	34	67
Distrust among sects	34	70
The poor economy	32	61
Unfairly detaining Iraqis	27	61
Satellite TV	26	61
Media	26	58
De-Ba'athification	24	47
Popular Mobilization Units, or PMUs	14	27

0   20   40   60   80   100

Kurds focus on corruption and services as cause of divisions

Here is a list of things some people say are responsible for creating divisions in Iraq and hindering reconciliation.

% saying "Extremely responsible"

Shia
- Da'esh — 67
- Other countries' involvement in Iraq's affairs — 63
- Politicians and political parties — 61

Sunni
- Politicians and political parties — 76
- Other countries' involvement in Iraq's affairs — 72
- Failure to enforce laws — 71
- Distribution of positions based on sect — 68
- Da'esh — 63

Kurds
- Da'esh — 69
- Corruption — 68
- Poor provision of services — 66

0   20   40   60   80
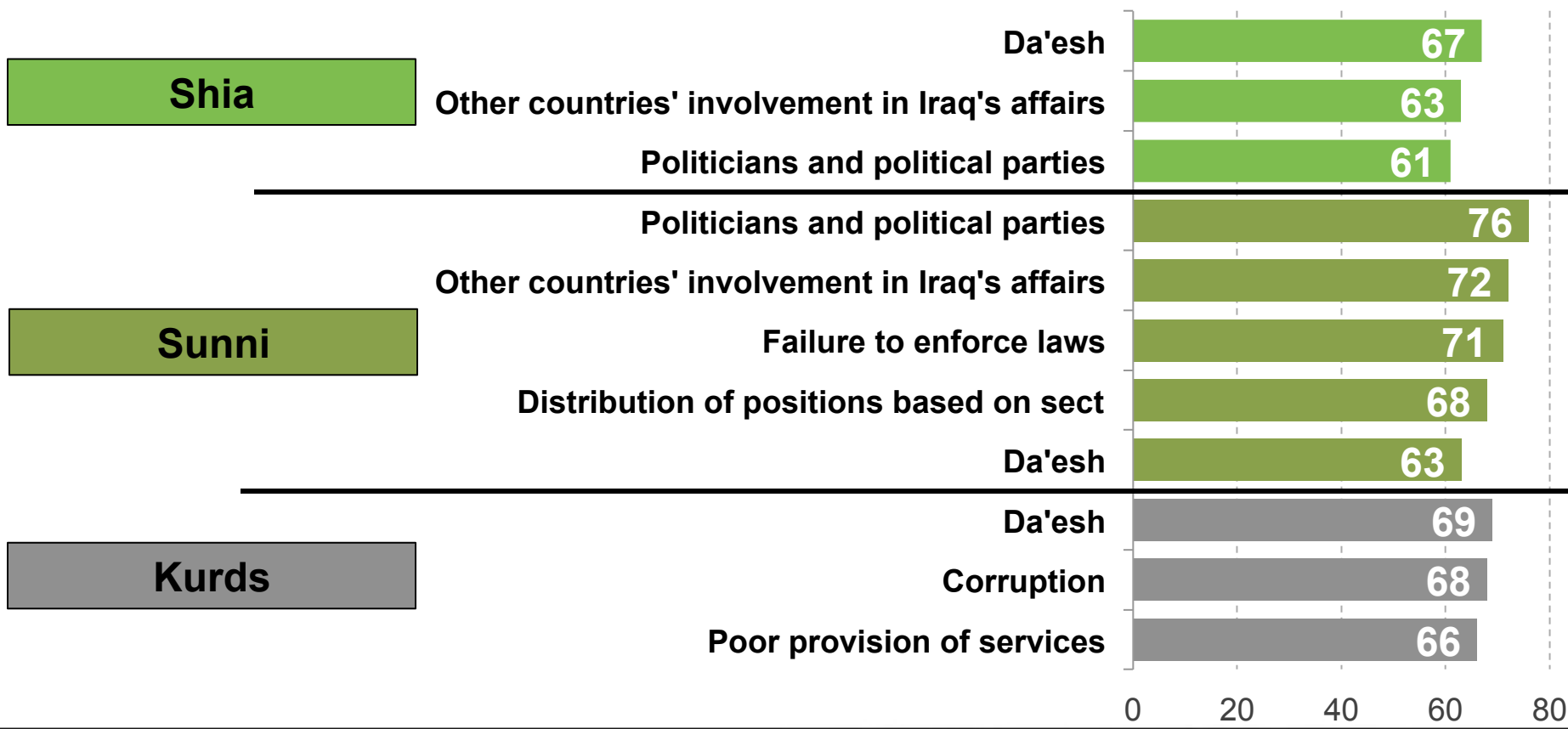
People unite Iraq; politicians and international community divide

Here is a list of prominent politicians, leaders, and organizations in Iraq. For each one, tell me if you think that politician, leader, or organization does more to divide Iraq or unite Iraq.

■ Unite strongly ■ Unite somewhat ■ Neither/Both/DK ■ Divide somewhat ■ Divide strongly

	Unite strongly	Unite somewhat	Neither/Both/DK	Divide somewhat	Divide strongly
The Iraqi people	45	37	6	7	5
Public protests	42	38	8	7	5
Religious leaders	38	30	11	12	9
Muqtada al-Sadr	26	28	24	11	11
Haider al-Abadi	16	32	24	17	11
Tribal leaders	13	35	22	20	10
Ammar al-Hakim	10	31	25	22	12
Nouri al-Maliki	12	18	26	17	27
Ayad Allawi	6	15	35	27	17
International community	4	9	26	27	34
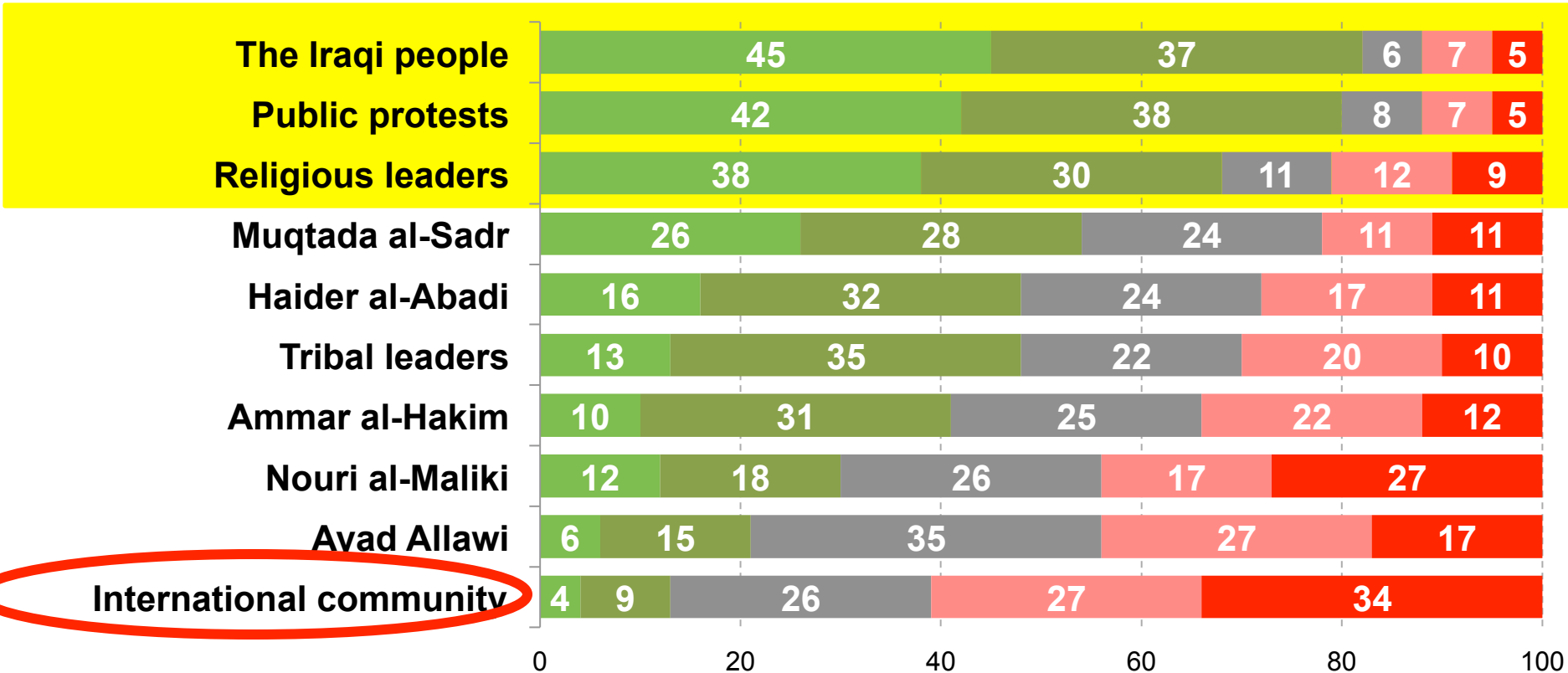
Divisions among sects about who divides and unites

Here is a list of prominent politicians, leaders, and organizations in Iraq. For each one, tell me if you think that politician, leader, or organization does more to divide Iraq or unite Iraq.

Unite ■ **Divide**

Shia:
- Iraqi people: 97
- Protests: 95
- Relig leader: 87
- Sadr: 75
- Int'l com: 71
- Allawi: 52

Sunni:
- Iraqi people: 77
- Protests: 72
- Relig leader: 52
- Int'l com: 58
- Maliki: 56
- Hakim: 49

Kurds:
- Protests: 48
- Hakim: 41
- Iraqi people: 40
- Maliki: 84
- Sadr: 59
- Tribe leader: 56
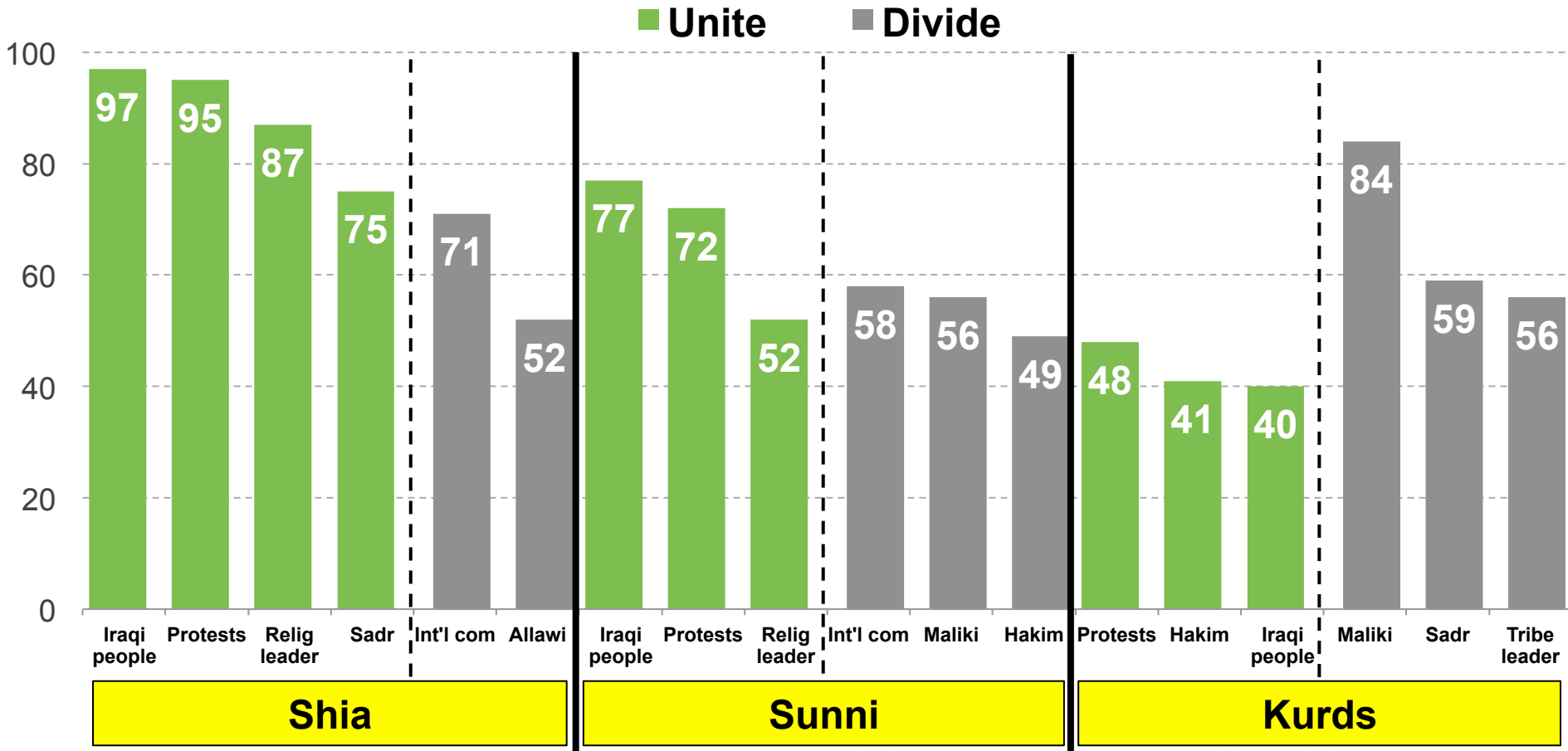
Attitudes toward politicians largely negative

I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, things, and organizations, with "100" meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; "0" meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and "50" meaning not particularly favorable or unfavorable.

■ % Favorable   ■ % Unfavorable

Δ Aug '15	NA	+2	-31	-2	+2	-1	-7	NA	-4
% Favorable	59	32	23	19	18	9	4	2	1
% Unfavorable	21	45	62	62	69	77	75	72	89
	Ameri	Sadr	Abadi	Hakim	Maliki	Allawi	Jabouri	Sharistani	Nujaifi
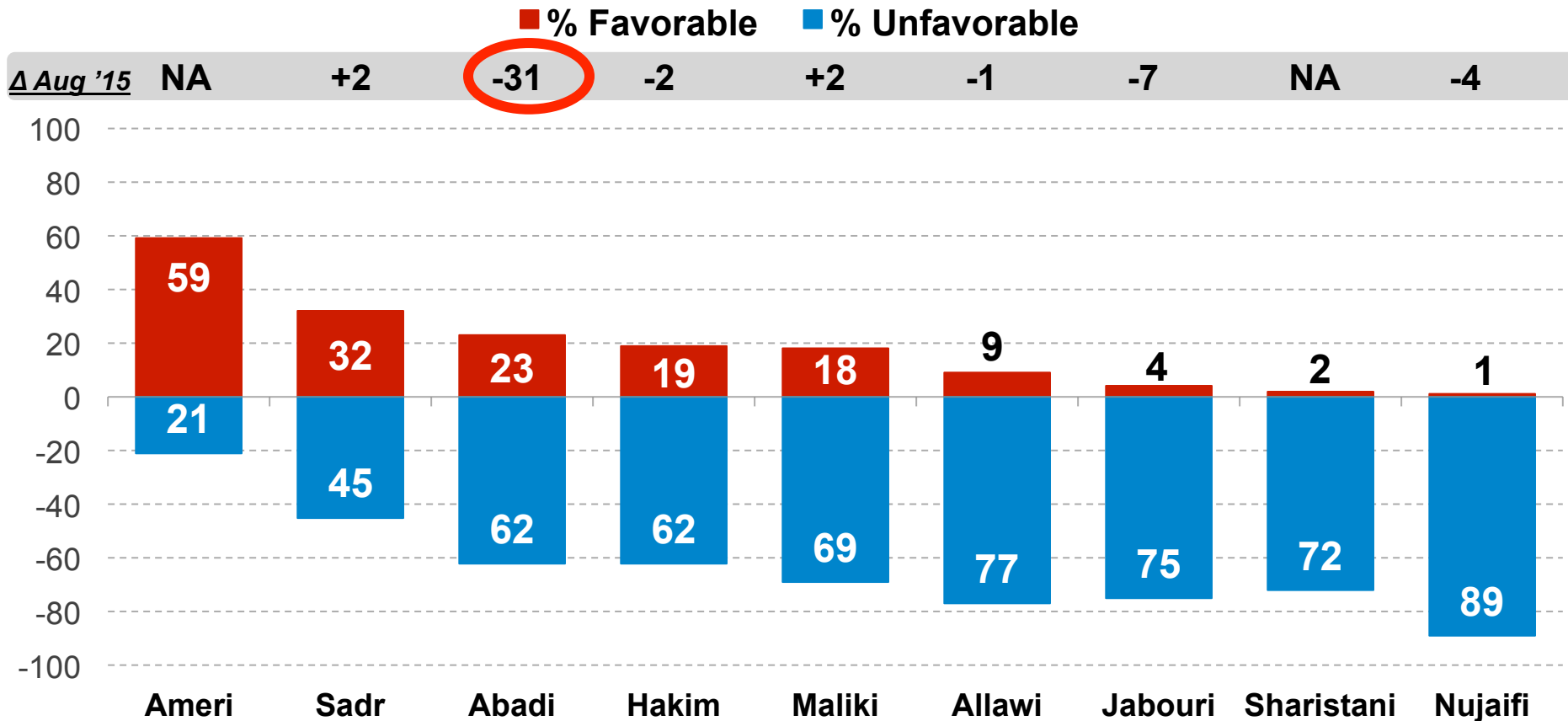
Strong majorities approve of protests

Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the most recent public protests throughout Iraq?

	Total	Leader	Shia	Sunni	Kurds	Baghdad	South	West	Kurdistan
Approve	84	84	87	85	65	88	86	87	63
Disapprove	10	13	8	5	30	6	10	4	32
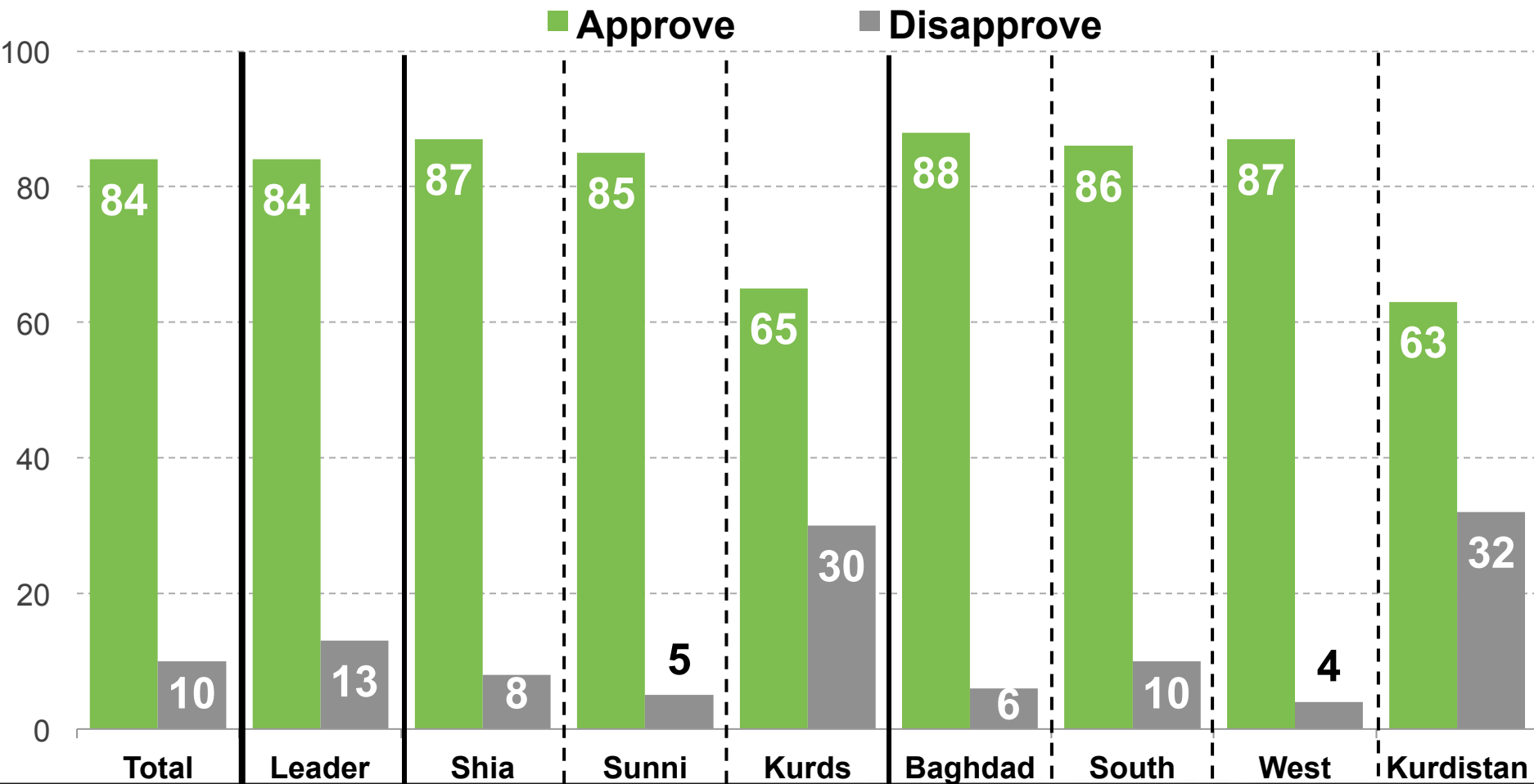
Religious leaders, the people, and protests most influential

Here is list of people and organizations that some people think have the best potential to influence politicians and political parties in bringing about reconciliation in Iraq. For each one, please tell me if you think that person or organization can be very influential with politicians and political parties, somewhat influential, just a little influential, or not influential at all.

■ **Very influential**   ■ **Somewhat influential**

	Very influential	Total
Religious leaders	51	79
The Iraqi people	43	77
Public protests	40	80
International community	23	44
Muqtada al-Sadr	22	60
Tribal leaders	18	51
Haider al-Abadi	16	47
Nouri al-Maliki	14	37
Ammar al-Hakim	7	37
Civil society organizations	6	25
Ayad Allawi	5	23
Business leaders	4	19

0   20   40   60   80
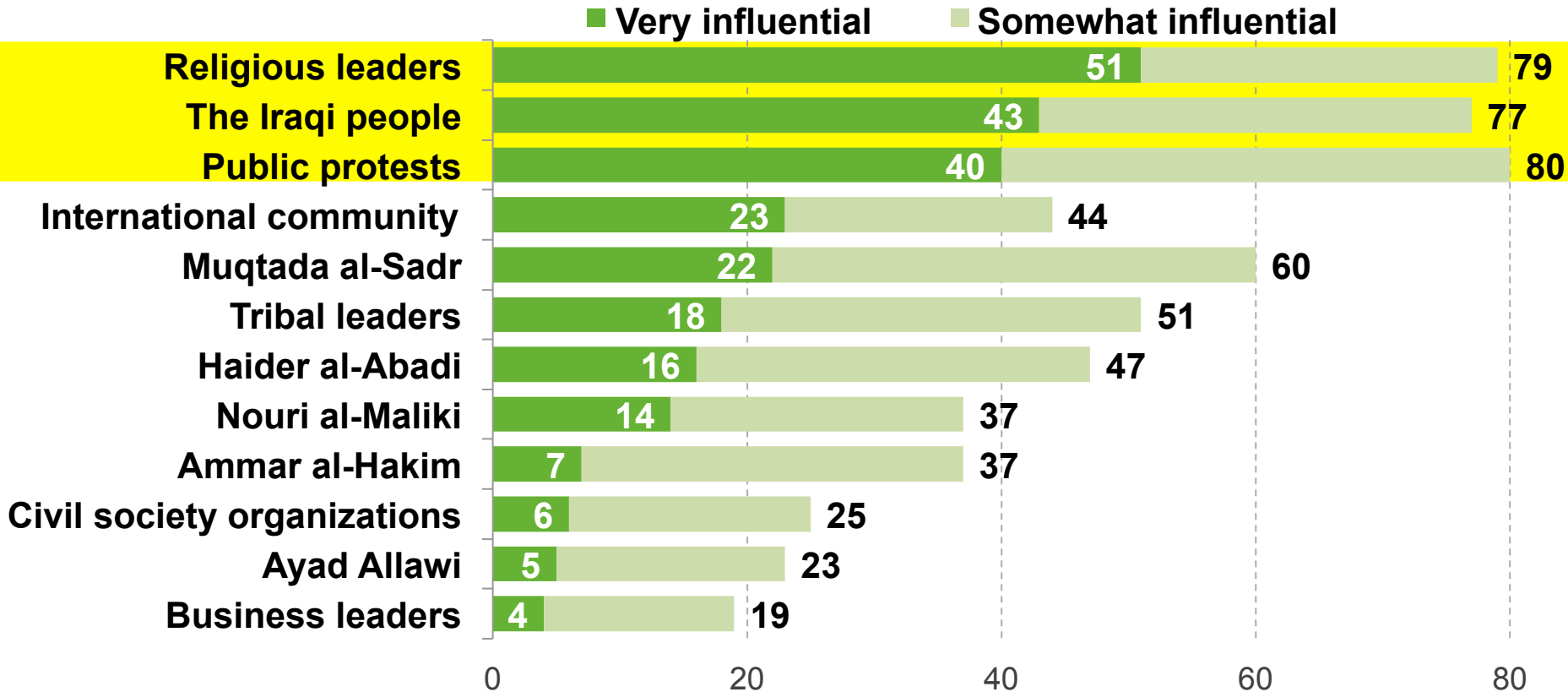
Religious leaders, the people, & protests influential across sects

Here is list of people and organizations that some people think have the best potential to influence politicians and political parties in bringing about reconciliation in Iraq.
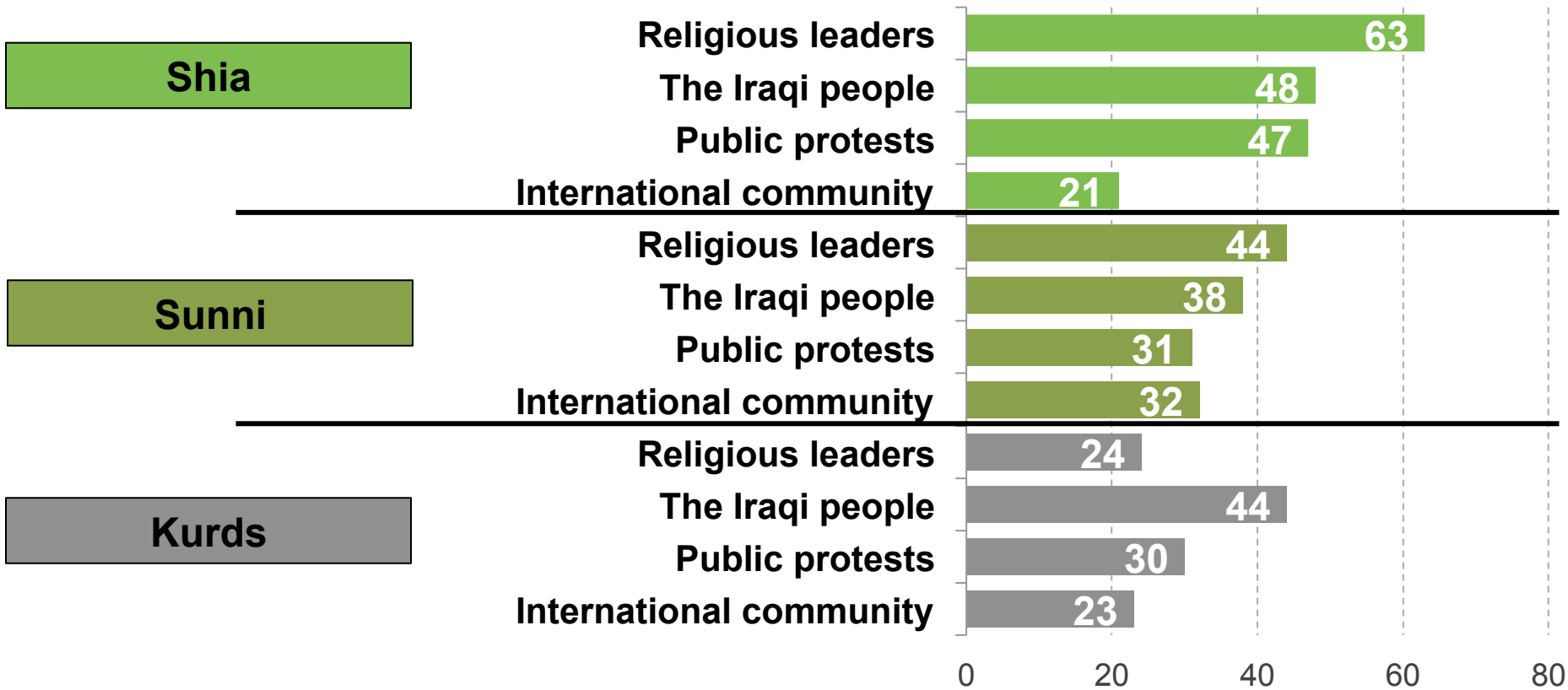
% saying "Very influential"

Shia

Religious leaders	63
The Iraqi people	48
Public protests	47
International community	21

Sunni

Religious leaders	44
The Iraqi people	38
Public protests	31
International community	32

Kurds

Religious leaders	24
The Iraqi people	44
Public protests	30
International community	23

0   20   40   60   80

Referring to regions instead of sect breeds more empathy

Who do you think/what region do you think has been the MOST negatively impacted by the lack of reconciliation in Iraq?

Legend (left): ■ Shia ■ Sunni ■ Kurds ■ Minority ■ All
Legend (right): ■ Baghdad ■ South ■ West ■ Kurdistan ■ All

Left chart — Shia: Shia 11, Sunni 19, Kurds 2, Minority 5, All 59
Left chart — Sunni: Shia 3, Sunni 44, Kurds 2, Minority 4, All 43
Left chart — Kurds: Shia 2, Sunni 19, Kurds 44, Minority 2, All 29

Right chart — Shia: Baghdad 4, South 4, West 32, Kurdistan 11, All 45
Right chart — Sunni: Baghdad 4, South 2, West 19, Kurdistan 25, All 43
Right chart — Kurds: Baghdad 4, South 0, West 18, Kurdistan 51, All 27

Consensus on many reconciliation steps

Here is a list of ways to achieve reconciliation in Iraq. For each one, please tell me if you think it is a very effective way to achieve reconciliation in Iraq, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not an effective way at all to achieve reconciliation in Iraq.

■ **Very effective** ■ **Somewhat effective**

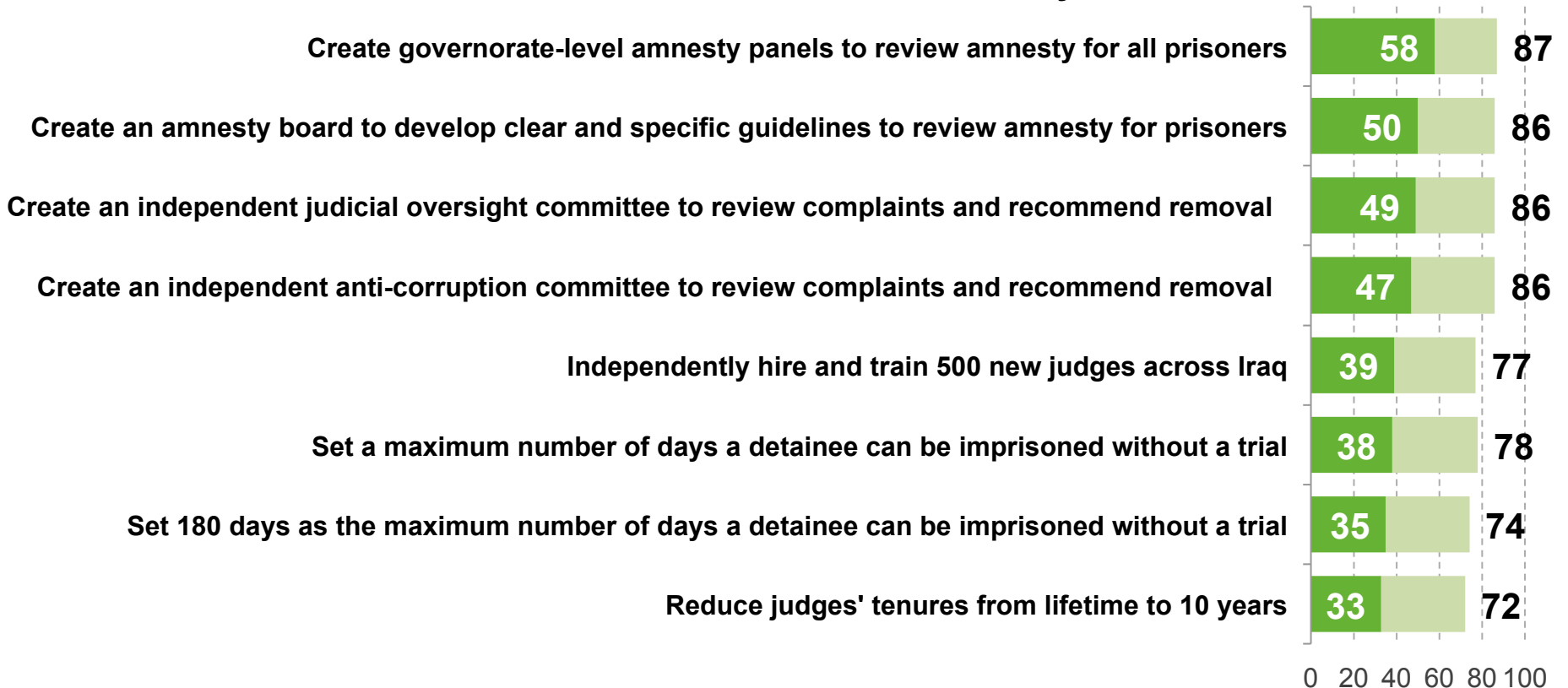| Step	Very effective	Total
Ending sectarian quotas for government positions and jobs	61	88
Adopting an achievable plan to fight corruption effectively	60	92
More cooperation among the political parties	57	86
Improving basic services	56	84
Strengthening the economy	56	88
Ensuring a fair judicial process	52	89
Adopting international standards for media	43	79
Adopting the Oil and Gas Law	41	71
Integrating the Popular Mobilization Units into the Iraqi Army	40	71
Holding a national religious and tribal leader conference	37	77
Holding a national reconciliation conference	31	73
Developing a one-year Roadmap to Reconciliation	29	72
Decentralizing power to local governments	23	54
Reviewing and amending de-Ba'athification	16	50

0   20   40   60   80   100

Shia and Sunni agree on effective steps

Solutions to Reconciliation (Very effective)	Total	Leader	Shia	Sunni	Kurds
Ending sectarian quotas for government positions and jobs	61	54	63	75	28
Adopting an achievable plan to fight corruption effectively	60	46	57	63	53
More cooperation among the political parties	57	41	56	63	43
Strengthening the economy	56	71	52	52	68
Improving basic services	56	55	51	54	70
Ensuring a fair judicial process	52	61	47	70	40
Adopting international standards for the media	43	39	46	45	27
Adopting the Oil and Gas Law	41	33	35	40	57
Integrating the Popular Mobilization Units into the Iraqi Army	40	49	50	31	22
Holding a national religious and tribal leader conference	37	36	36	47	27
Conference with politicians, religious & tribal leaders, CSOs	31	41	35	28	31
Developing a one-year Roadmap to Reconciliation	29	31	29	34	25
Decentralizing power to local governments	23	21	12	28	46
Reviewing and amending de-Ba'athification	16	24	6	30	28

Reconciliation through judicial reforms

Here is a list of steps involving the judiciary that could be taken to achieve reconciliation in Iraq. For each one, please tell me if you think it is a very effective way to achieve reconciliation in Iraq, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not an effective way at all to achieve reconciliation in Iraq.
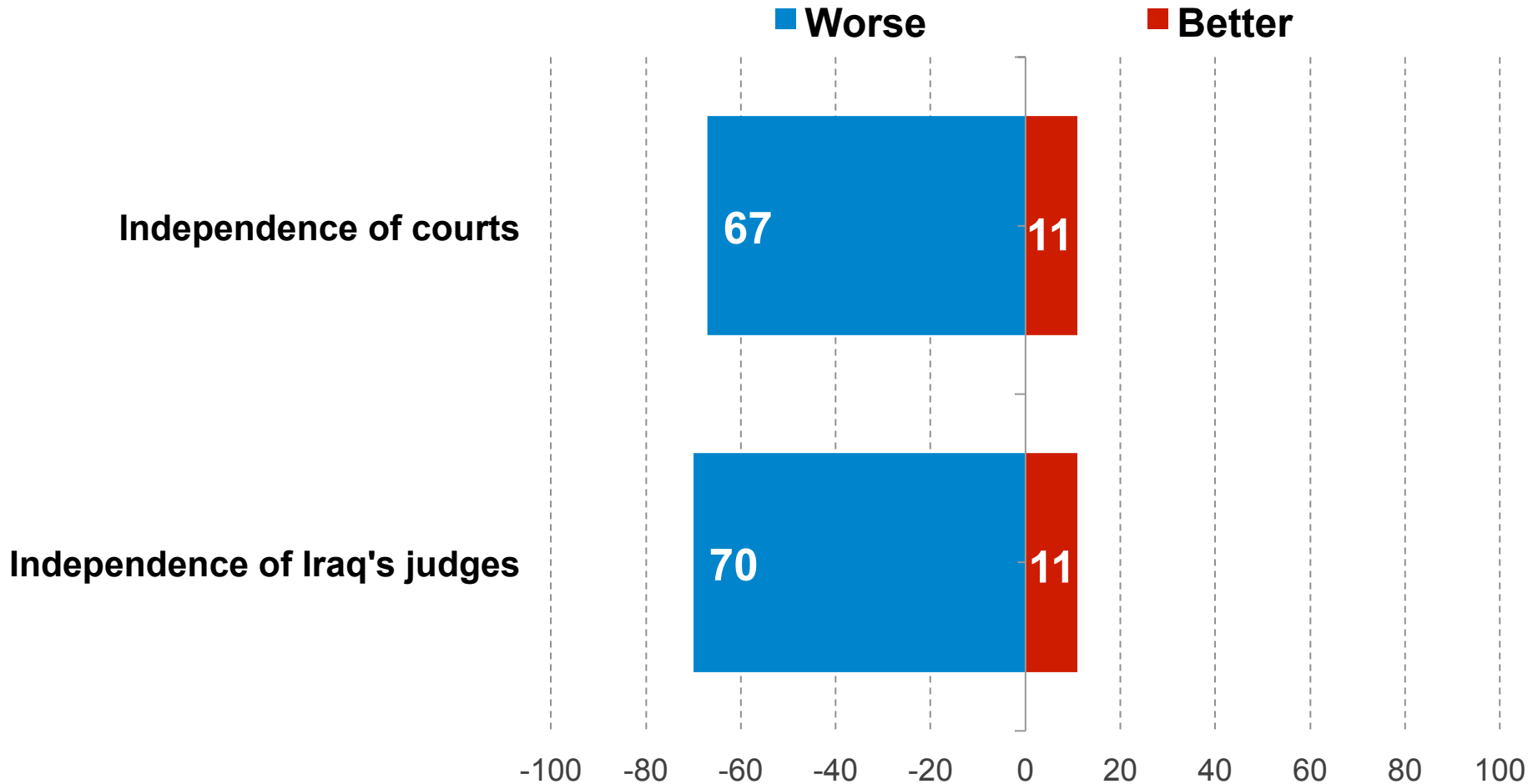
■ **Very effective** ■ **Somewhat effective**

Step	Very effective	Total
Create governorate-level amnesty panels to review amnesty for all prisoners	58	87
Create an amnesty board to develop clear and specific guidelines to review amnesty for prisoners	50	86
Create an independent judicial oversight committee to review complaints and recommend removal	49	86
Create an independent anti-corruption committee to review complaints and recommend removal	47	86
Independently hire and train 500 new judges across Iraq	39	77
Set a maximum number of days a detainee can be imprisoned without a trial	38	78
Set 180 days as the maximum number of days a detainee can be imprisoned without a trial	35	74
Reduce judges' tenures from lifetime to 10 years	33	72

0 20 40 60 80 100

Judicial solutions to reconciliation by sect

Judicial Solutions (Very effective)	Total	Leader	Shia	Sunni	Kurds
Create governorate-level amnesty panels to review amnesty for all prisoners	58	48	63	63	28
Create an amnesty board to develop clear and specific guidelines to review amnesty for all prisoners	50	49	52	61	26
Create an independent judicial oversight committee to review complaints and recommend removal	49	45	50	54	36
Create an independent anti-corruption committee to review complaints and recommend removal	47	42	50	52	31
Reduce judges' tenures from lifetime to 10 years	33	28	36	30	28
Independently hire and train 500 new judges across Iraq	39	46	40	41	32
180 days as the max # of days a detainee can be imprisoned without a trial	35	47	37	35	30
Set a max. # of days a detainee can be imprisoned without a trial	38	50	35	48	31

Large majorities perceive judicial system as worsening

Now, I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.

■ **Worse**   ■ **Better**

	Worse	Better
Independence of courts	67	11
Independence of Iraq's judges	70	11

-100 -80 -60 -40 -20 0 20 40 60 80 100

Most view judges and courts as being influenced by politicians

Based on what you know, do you think Iraq's [judges/courts] are mostly independent or mostly influenced by politicians?
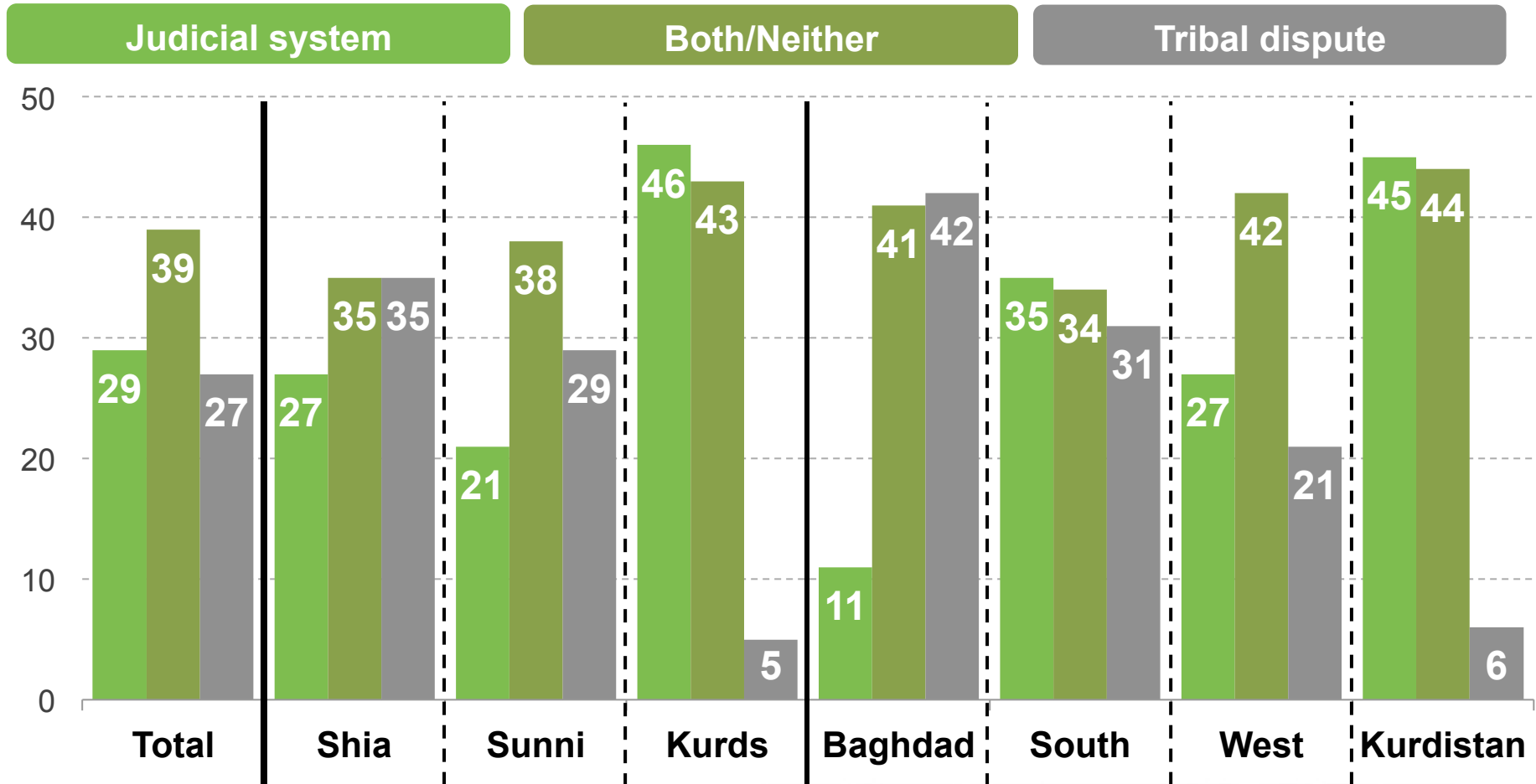
Mostly independent	Mostly influenced by politicians

Judges
- Total: 14 / 69
- Leader: 20 / 76

Courts
- Total: 17 / 72
- Leader: 17 / 80
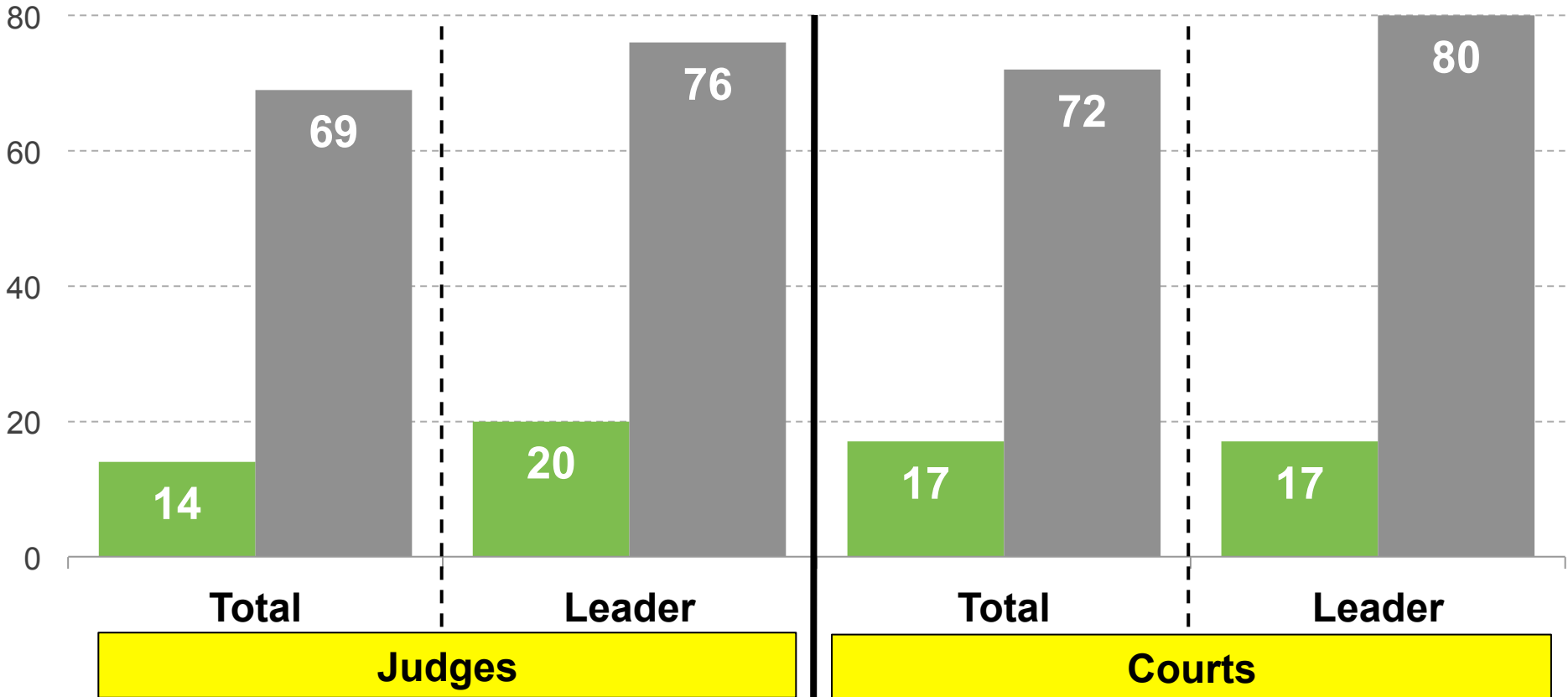
Kurds have less trust in tribal dispute mechanisms

Who do you trust more to resolve injustices that you might experience - do you trust the Iraqi judicial system more or do you trust tribal dispute mechanisms more?

Judicial system	Both/Neither	Tribal dispute

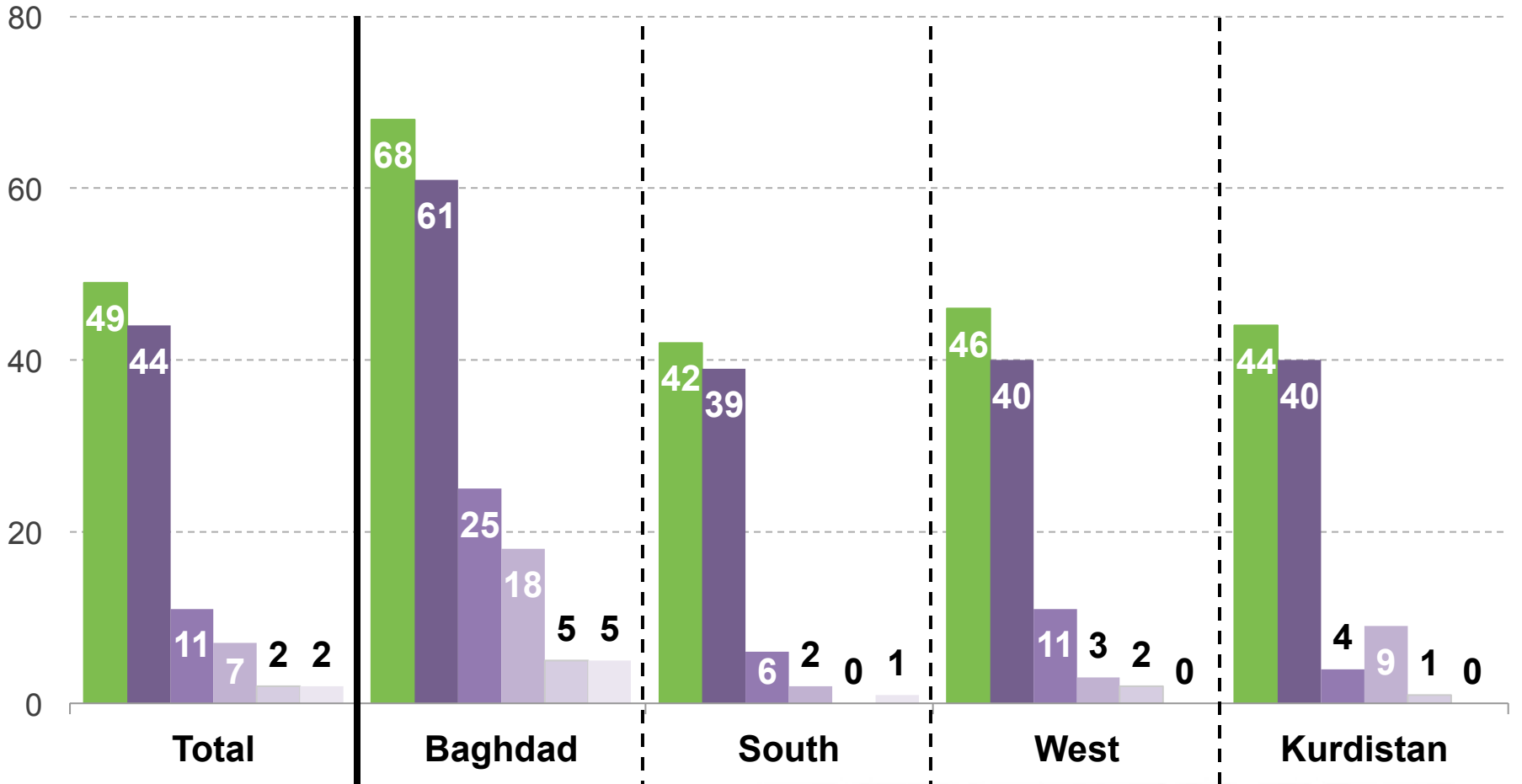|	Total	Shia	Sunni	Kurds	Baghdad	South	West	Kurdistan
Judicial system	29	27	21	46	11	35	27	45
Both/Neither	39	35	38	43	41	34	42	44
Tribal dispute	27	35	29	5	42	31	21	6

Iraqi Reconciliation Plan – 10 Core Points

1) Develop clear, concise message that defines the plan, including a name – "One Iraq," "United Iraq," "The 5 Pillars of a United Iraq."
2) Cannot be perceived as internationally driven – For Iraqis by Iraqis
3) Plan needs to have clear milestones and deadlines – should have no more than 5 core concepts
4) Always tie to more pressing concerns: security, jobs, corruption
5) Plan needs separate components to focus on Shia-Sunni and Arab-Kurd issues
6) Needs to have a communications strategy, including public service announcements, digital, and provincial/district level communication
7) More important to talk about outcomes than process
8) Embrace the frustration of people and protesters
9) Focus on politicians <u>and</u> engage the public and religious leaders
10) Need right spokespeople, especially for Kurds
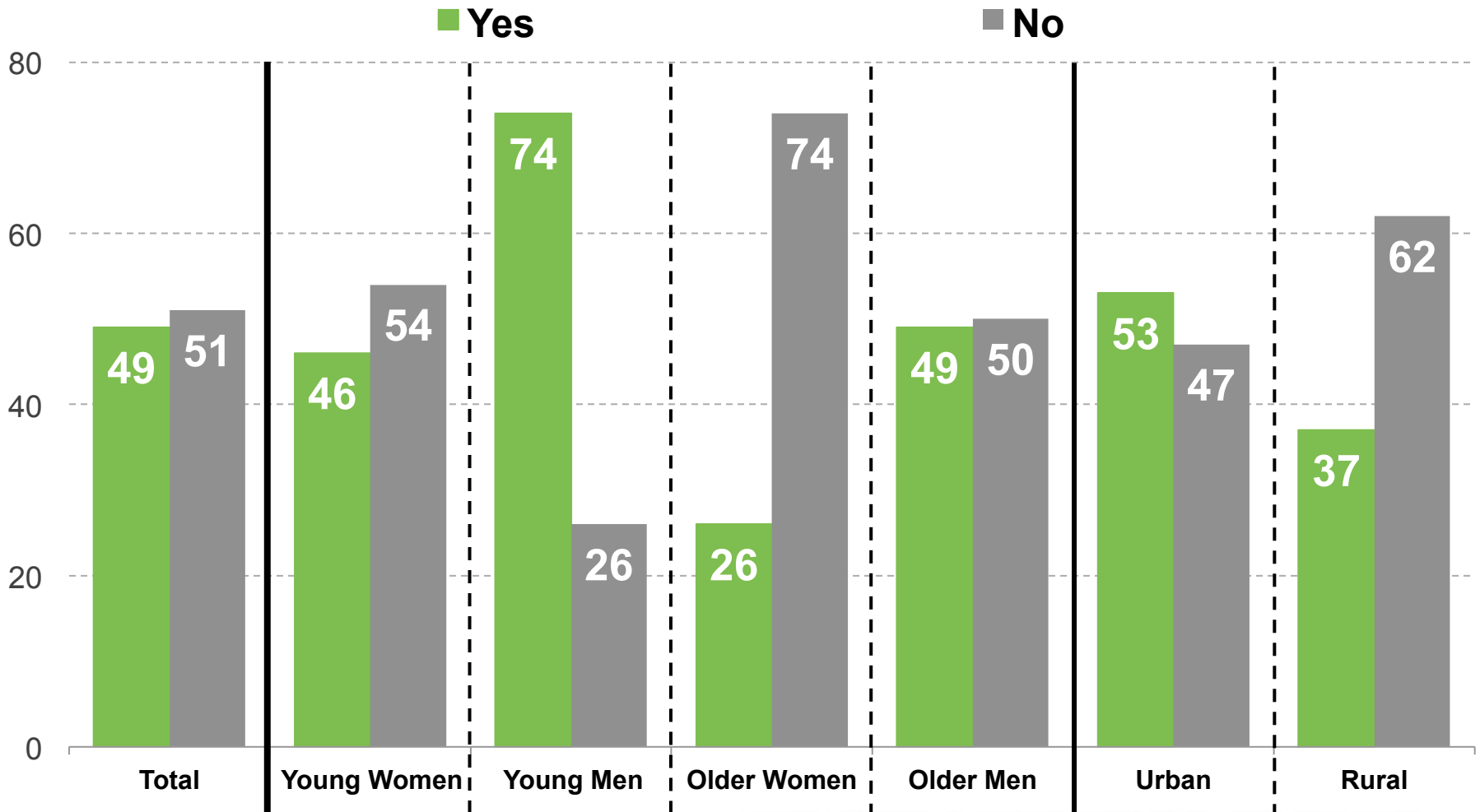
Communications

Internet access and type of device

Do you have [regular access to the internet/how do you typically access the internet]?

■ **Internet**   ■ **Mobile phone**   ■ **Home computer**   ■ **Laptop**   ■ **Office computer**   ■ **Internet café**

Grouped bar chart. Values by region:

Device	Total	Baghdad	South	West	Kurdistan
Internet	49	68	42	46	44
Mobile phone	44	61	39	40	40
Home computer	11	25	6	11	4
Laptop	7	18	2	3	9
Office computer	2	5	0	2	1
Internet café	2	5	1	0	0

Internet access by gender/age

Facebook access

Do you use Facebook regularly or not regularly?

■ **Regularly**   ■ **Not regularly**   ■ **No Facebook**
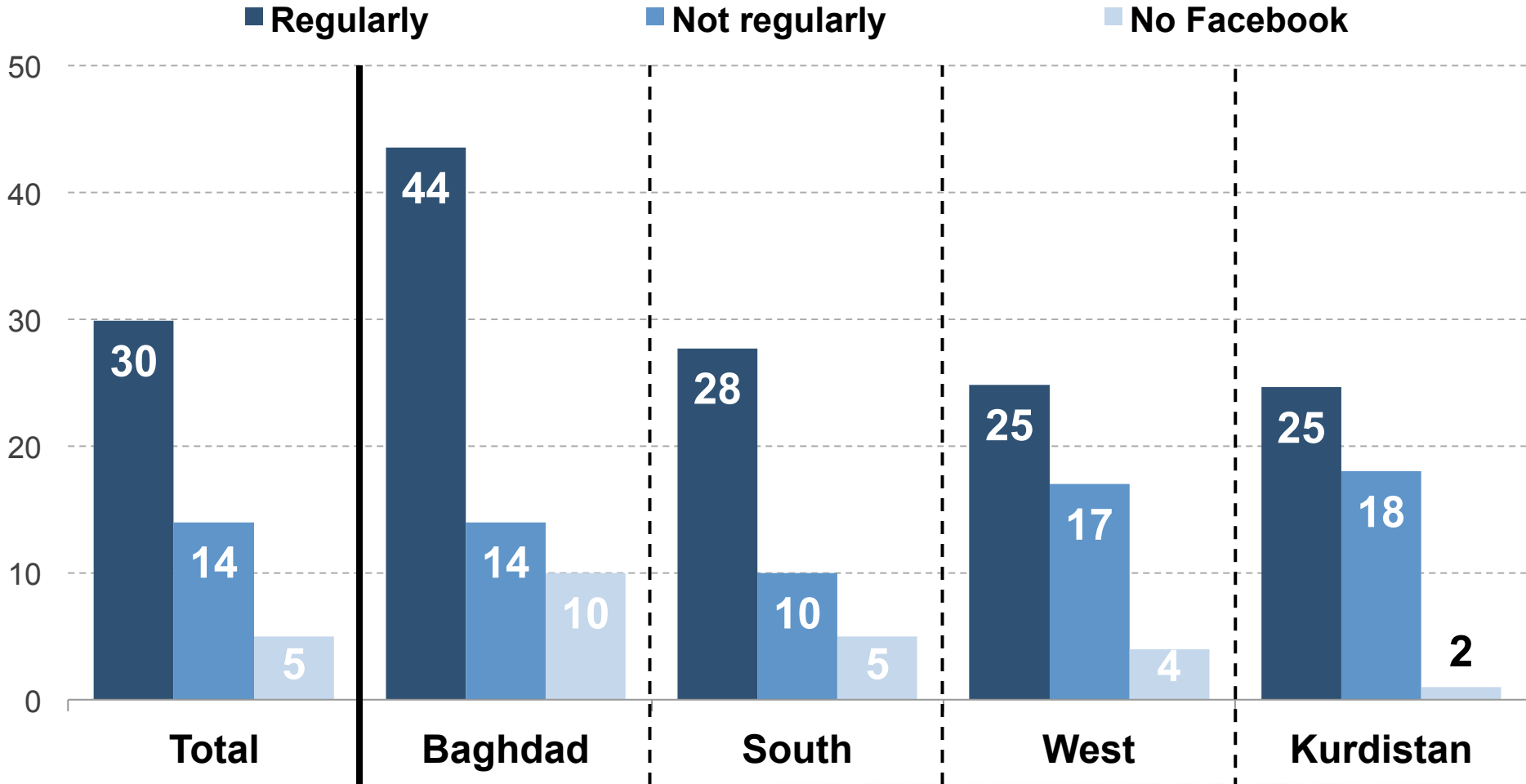
App access

Do you use any of the following applications to inform yourself about political developments or discuss them with friends?